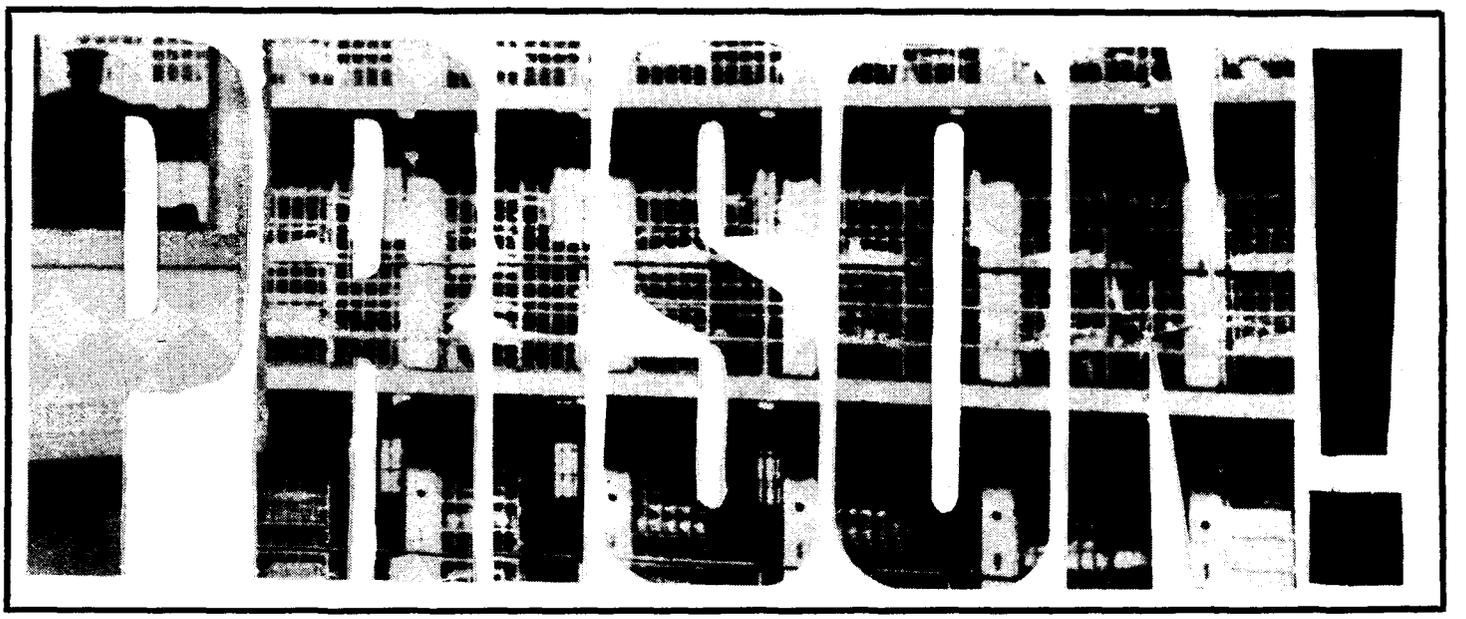
Volume XCIV No. 21 September 24, 1971 40 cents

commonweal

ST CHARLES SEM LIBRARY
RECD
CARTHAGENA STATION, CELINA, OHIO

EN WEAVER
A-66138 12-71
ST CHARLES SEM LIBRARY
CARTHAGENA STATION
CELINA OH 45822



ARTICLES BY
JIM CASTELLI
DONALD G. SHOCKLEY
THOMAS LEWIS

ALSO
'COLONNESE GO HOME'
THE PERVERTED PRIORITIES OF U.S. POLITICS
TWO ITALIAN PRIESTS
TWO CITIES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Life at Notre Dame

Insight: *Notre Dame,* a quarterly dealing with the university's internal affairs, jumps both-feet into the alumni squabble that Notre Dame is going to hell in an electric car from the good old days when Father John O'Hara's religious bulletins correlated 50 years of football scores with communion statistics.

Not so, writes James T. Burtchaell, C.S.C., provost, in the new issue. "Times change, but people do not," he says. "The situation is good."

Father Burtchaell concedes lapses from past traditions, notably "a certain persistent disregard for the common good" and a decline in sacramental practice, beginning with attendance at Sunday Mass.

Burtchaell disclaims that he is trying to minimize matters, but both conditions, he argues, are part of a problem that goes far beyond the campus.

The decline in student attendance at Sunday Mass, for instance, is seen as a parallel phenomenon to what has happened to the practice of confession among the adult Catholic community. "The event marks no national decline into iniquity," comments Burtchaell. "Perhaps something was wrong to start wth, something we didn't clearly identify."

His principal point is that critics tend to overlook the good features of life at Notre Dame: "the healthy state of the department of theology"; the "strength" of the teaching faculty; the solid priestly character of the religious community; and the noticeable involvement of Notre Dame students in socially constructive service projects.

Sum up as you will, says Burtchaell, but "we think the work is going well."

Before signing off, Burtchaell divests himself of what must be a large annoyance at Notre Dame. "We grow tired of outsiders criticizing the work we do," he exclaims, "for we know the hearts of these young men, and as we teach them what we can, in this season of new spirit in the church, there are also things they have to teach us."

Travails of an Ethnic

It wasn't the best of weeks for Mike Novak, white ethnic.

Triumph pirated an early, classified draft of his *Harper's* article on the white ethnic, printed portions of it "in a misleading and highly butchered way," then added two sentences never written by Novak.

"Since the views ascribed to me in this fashion are not mine, and since I sent no such letter to *Triumph,* and since I did not sign such a statement or give permission for my name to be used in connection with it, I am dismayed by the dishonesty of *Triumph,*" Novak commented.

No sooner was blood pressure down from that incident than Novak's *Harper's* piece was picked apart by *Chicago Daily News* star columnist, white ethnic Mike Royko.

Whimsically captioning his column "The Sensuous Ethnic, by N," Royko disputed Novak's thesis that to be born an ethnic is to be born downtrodden, outside the mainstream, "thus privy to neither power, nor status, nor intellectual voice."

"I can't ache much for Mr. Novak," writes Royko, "since those very words appear in a magazine of much status read by many intellectuals. If that doesn't give him a voice, it sure beats yelling his message down a hallway."

As for power, Royko says he's not sure what kind Novak is talking about. The last time he looked, adds Royko, a white ethnic Greek was Vice President of the USA, a white ethnic Pole was the leading candidate for the Democratic nomination for President, and "John Lindsay was just about the only WASP running a big city."

Royko's final impatience is with Novak's rhetorical question: "But where in America is there anywhere a language for voicing what a Christian Pole in this nation feels?"

"Try English," Royko rejoinders. "You don't expect 200,000,000 people to learn Polish, do you? About the only Polish-American I've ever had trouble understanding is U.S. Rep. Roman Pucinski, and that's because he's a politician who makes three speeches at the same time."

In zinging Novak, Royko aimed a shot also at "the first to broach" the deprived-white-ethnic notion. "Awhile back, Father Andrew Greeley, an expert on ethnics, wrote a book about it," noted Royko. "But Greeley also kept insisting that we are lucky to have people like P. J. Cullerton and Ed Hanrahan running things, so I quit listening to anything Greeley says."

(*The preceding is not to be construed as a statement on or about individuals of any race, color, creed or place of national origin. Any similarity to persons and events is purely coincidental. In fact, all names are fictitious.*)

The World of Books

Frederick Franck, author and overviewer of things religious, has memo-ed a guide on the fall book-publishing scene.

To Be Remaindered:
- Theology of Hope
- Theology of Dialogue
- Theology of Travelogue
- Theology of Monologue
- Theology of The Pope
- Theology of Dope
- Theology of Vatican I
- Theology of Chalcedon
- Theology of Vatican II
- Theology of the Death of You-Know-Who
- Theology of Luther

In Stock:
- Theology of Computers
- Theology of Celebration
- Theology of Automation
- Theology of Communication
- Theology of Fornication
- Theology of Women's Liberation
- Theology of the Pill
- Theology of Will
- Theology of Homosexuality
- Theology of Collegiality
- Theology of Race
- Theology of Mace
- Theology of Revolution
- Theology of Ecology
- Theology of Atheism
- Theology of Cretinism
- Theology of Cynicism

To Be Published Soon:
- Theology of Nihilism

Odds and Ends

—Word from Rome has it that Catholic publishers are feeling the hot breath of the Vatican on their necks, so much so that Queriniana had to sell the second Italian edition of Hans Küng's *Infallible? An Inquiry* to a non-Catholic publisher. Dutch authors are also reported to be "out."

—Latest one-liner traveling Congressional corridors re John Lindsay: "He was the kid in prep school who threw bread around the dining hall." JOHN DEEDY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

The Ungodly City

Brooklyn, N. Y.

To the Editors: Commonweal deserves extended praise for publishing Harvey Cox' long and perceptive article [July 9] on Jacques Ellul's appraisal of the city. The article is, I think, among the more significant contributions of Dr. Cox in recent years, perhaps since *The Secular City*. It has substance.

While I agree with Cox that Ellul does not seem as convinced of the grace of God as he is of the depravity of man, the French sociologist-theologian is one of the few contemporary thinkers giving the church some grist. He offers the constant reminder that churches and theologians have something to say about God, or they have nothing to say at all.

Whether the city is seen, as Ellul says, as the embodiment of rebellion against God or, as Lewis Mumford says, "man's conscious participation in the cosmic and the historical process," the question of what the city represents in a religious perspective is central in any relevant theology.

It will be a good day when church urbanologists can combine unembarrassed theologizing with campaigns against pollution. H. ELLIOTT WRIGHT

Re That New Posture

Pittsburgh, Pa.

To the Editors: As a veteran of the National Pastoral Council effort, I commend *Commonweal* for its observation [Editorial, Aug. 20] concerning the Council, presumably and regrettably dead of unfeasibility diagnosed by the United States Catholic Conference.

Voter registration drives in the South weren't feasible, either.

ROSEMARY CRIST

St. Louis, Mo.

To the Editors: In echoing Garry Wills' comments concerning my book, *The Decline and Fall of Radical Catholic-*

(Continued on page 507)

NEWS & VIEWS: 490 **CORRESPONDENCE: 491**
EDITORIALS: 491
COLONNESE GO HOME: *Gary MacEoin* **492**
THE YEAR OF THE PRISONS: *Jim Castelli* **494**
REFORMING PRISON REFORM: *Donald G. Shockley* **497**
REFLECTIONS FROM THE PIG FARM: *Thomas Lewis* **499**
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* **501**
BOOKS: 502
THE RED AND THE BLACK: *Lawrence Cunningham* **502**
Reviews by Wilson Cary McWilliams and Seth Goldstein
INDEX TO VOLUME XCIV: 508

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
PETER STEINFELS: *Associate Editor* ANNE ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
PHILIP T. HARTUNG, COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*
COMMONWEAL A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts.
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y.
Printed in the USA and published weekly,
except biweekly Christmas-New Year's and June to mid-September,
by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
MUrray Hill 3-2042. *Copyright © 1971 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.*
US and Canada: $14 a year. Foreign $16. Single copies 40¢

PUNISHING THE POOR

Last spring two social scientists, Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward, published a study arguing that the availability of welfare was not a humanitarian response to need but a political response meant to calm turmoil among the deprived—and that as soon as such turmoil subsided, welfare would be cut back. At least one reviewer called Piven and Cloward's theory crude, but if so, then the reality of American relief practices is equally crude; for nothing could fit the pattern they describe better than what is happening to public assistance right now.

Welfare rolls expanded extensively during the last decade, not so much because the need was any greater than in the '40s and '50s when millions of Americans, black and white, were pushed from their bankrupt farms to big cities, but because the pressure was finally on the cities to help the poor, and welfare was the easiest way. Now, the agitation is over: urban riots have diminished in number and intensity, the civil rights movement has been splintered over Black Power, separatism and Pantherism, the war against poverty has been wound down.

Right on schedule come the cutbacks. From Alabama (33,000 recipients dropped from the rolls) to California to New York (cuts in grants and new work rules), from the Supreme Court to state legislatures, the situation of those on welfare has been eroded. Nineteen states and the country as a whole report a decline in the number receiving assistance.

All this comes at a time of recession when welfare rolls might logically expand rather than contract. Of course, the cutbacks are said to be a matter of pruning the ineligibles—the omnipresent "cheaters." And they are, as they always have been in the past, accompanied by charges and investigations into frauds. Surely some real frauds will be exposed—though in the past the reality always turned out to be much less than the initial accusations—and we will learn that some people in destitution are inclined to cheat to get a little more money, perhaps almost as much as middle-class Americans on their income tax forms or corporation executives who commit "white-collar crime." Genuine frauds should not be tolerated, of course; but the political point of all this is to create an atmosphere in which welfare agencies work in an intensely adversary relationship to those whom they are presumably supposed to be aiding. That is also the real significance of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fuss recently being made about putting welfare recipients to work. Whatever the advantages of such work requirements—and some welfare clients are known to prefer them—they are essentially distractions from the facts that (a) the vast number of people on welfare, women with families to care for, children, old people and the incapacitated, are not employable; and (b) our economy is so structured that considerable unemployment is the case in the best of times let alone in the current period of Nixonomics. Public officials know full well that "cheating" and "loafing" are not at the heart of the welfare problem, just as they know that need has probably risen rather than decreased; but these slogans are terribly handy salves for our consciences as assistance is cut and further obstacles placed in the path of those who need it.

The current offensive against the welfare poor also reveals that those who opposed the Nixon Administration's Family Assistance Plan in hopes of avoiding some of its admitted drawbacks have seriously overestimated the strength of their bargaining position. The President's decision to sacrifice this measure to his business-oriented plan for economic recovery is tragic. And along with the present anti-welfare mood it may deepen the suspicions of those who fear that the proposed welfare reform would turn into a tool, like the workhouse of old, to oppress rather than aid the poor.

Perhaps what is most disturbing about the wave of anti-welfarism is the impression that liberals are drifting with the current. Partially this is due to the division and uncertainty caused by the unfortunate strategy of some welfare advocates in opposing the Nixon reform. But many who might have been counted upon as defenders of the poor appear to be opting for a policy of appeasement, on the premise, mistaken we believe, that acquiescing in new cutbacks and regulations will take the punch out of the welfare critics. Moreover, the justified criticism of many liberal programs—welfare among them—has sometimes promoted, not rethinking and renewed efforts, but something resembling a failure of nerve, with a residue of hostility toward those groups whose condition has ungraciously resisted past liberal proposals. Already statistics on welfare irregularities are being inaccurately and sweepingly cited in New York by men who should know better.

The poor have first claim, not last, on America's wealth. That, on the contrary, they should be transformed into scapegoats is reason for old-fashioned anger.

A THEORY SHOT

If any one agency of the American Catholic church lent credibility to the proposition that it was still possible to work meaningfully within the system, it was the Latin American Bureau of the U.S. Catholic Conference. Under the directorship of Father Louis M. Colonnese, the bureau took initiatives in sensitive and crucial areas, and in the process made the U.S. Catholic Conference look better on Latin American issues than at any time in its history. The American bishops obviously did not cotton to this look; they fired Father Colonnese with dispatch last Sept. 2.

Details of the firing, together with certain of the interhemispheric implications, are spelled out in an article beginning on this page. But an additional domestic implication also demands mention, and that is the body blow which the firing delivers to the theory that official American Catholicism is flexible enough to accommodate intellectual and ideological mavericks. Thus the firing is bound to have effects within the American church that go well beyond Father Colonnese.

The sorry thing is that it was all so avoidable. Father Colonnese's mode and his public positions admittedly were not easy for a cautious hierarchy to live with. On the other hand, the bishops have always made it clear that statements from division heads carried limited authority and did not constitute official policy either of the bishops or their central conference. If there was occasional confusion on this point, it was a confusion exaggerated by the bishops.

It would be nice (for the bishops) if Catholicism were so ordered that it would be possible to have *the* single Catholic position on everything under the sun. This is not the way of the world, however, and the bishops must face up to that fact before all the Colonneses are purged and the American church is staffed completely by the intimidated and the unthinking.

Writing on the Wall: Colonnese Go Home

"According to their standards and priorities, the United States bishops were entirely correct in firing me," Father Louis Michael Colonnese commented when notified Sept. 2 of the decision, "effective immediately," to release him. Father Colonnese was, since May of 1968, director in Washington of the Latin American Bureau of the U.S. Catholic Conference. Aged 40, he is a priest of the diocese of Davenport, Iowa. His earlier experience was in the student apostolate, the lay apostolate, and the Papal Volunteers for Latin America (PAVLA) program.

The surprising thing about his firing was that it took so long. For years he has been on a collision course, espousing causes and dramatizing issues repugnant to a hierarchy which permits itself no foreign policy positions that differ with those of the U.S. Department of State. The point of most obvious public conflict has been the Catholic Inter-American Cooperation Program

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(CICOP). Started by Colonnese in 1964, when he was still in Davenport, the annual conference assembles several hundred experts on Latin America from all parts of the hemisphere. Since he came to Washington in 1968, its discussions have grown progressively more radical.

CICOP has thus become a vehicle for expressing the criticisms, more strident each year, of the negative impact of the United States on Latin American society and church. Speakers representing progressive Catholic, Protestant and humanist opinion charge that whatever development public and private U.S. interests may effect is distorted; and that, in addition, U.S. capitalism siphons off the lion's share of the benefit. They present the U.S. Catholic church as a willing accomplice, accepting the presumptions of this liberal capitalism, and in consequence promoting its interests by its missionary activities.

Colonnese did not, of course, invent this analysis. The mood expressed at CICOP is the growing mood among Latin American intellectuals, and it is shared by many missionaries from the United States and other countries. Unlike their predecessors, the post-Vatican II missionaries tend to radicalize rapidly as they watch the rich grow richer while the poor sink deeper in despair.

Colonnese was happy in this company. An extrovert, enormously energetic, endowed with an ability—not too frequent in North Americans—to cross culture lines, he grew to know great numbers of Latin Americans intimately and to share their illusions and hopes. As Bishop Joseph Bernardin, general secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference, correctly noted when firing him, he changed in their company from the band-aid approach with which PAVLA had started to "an ideology at variance with that of the U.S. Catholic Conference."

In Caracas in 1969, the U.S. bishops made clear that they had experienced none of Colonnese's evolution. An appeal by their Latin American counterparts to assume "a prophetic role" and help "make the United States understand that its development is based on Latin America's underdevelopment" was unceremoniously dismissed. Neither would they support the denunciation made the previous year by the Latin Americans at Medellin of the neocolonialism of national oligarchies and the external neocolonialism of the international monopolies and the international imperialism of money.

The U.S. bishops at Caracas were outraged by Colonnese's outspoken and total identification with the Latin Americans, a point to which Bishop Bernardin now alludes in his statement to the press charging that Colonnese had lost a quality necessary in a good employee, "mutual trust and confidence between the staff person and the administration." Shortly after the meeting, a concerted effort was made to suppress CICOP. Overwhelming Latin American support then blocked it.

Warnings failed to make Colonnese lower his voice. "The Latin American church speaks to us of the legitimate aspirations of its people for liberation," he told the following CICOP meeting. We must "see ourselves as we are viewed by oppressed peoples . . . as exploiters who smugly ignore the misery which dehumanizes the majority of mankind, beneficiaries of a society which—in Karl Rahner's words—steals for us."

His well-orchestrated international campaigns, however, have been his greatest sin. He has embarrassed the U.S. bishops by seeking justice for the victims of dictator governments protected and helped by the United States. He has urged the denial of aid to Brazil, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and other countries who permit and encourage vigilante terrorism to protect the rich against the poor. He has carried several petitions to the Pope, and last year he sought an international investigation of charges that Dan Mitrione, an AID official killed by guerrillas in Uruguay, had taught torture techniques to the secret police in Brazil and Uruguay. Such conduct endangered the laboriously built liaison structures with the U.S. government, threatening not only the allocation of vast amounts of foreign aid but even such pet internal projects of the bishops as federal aid to education.

"There is nothing I would have done differently," he now says of these activities. "I have no apologies to make to the poor and no compromises to make with U.S. bishops." As for the future, he is emphatic that he will remain in the church structures and as a priest, but will no longer commit himself in any way "to the U.S. institutional church power structure."

He is obviously delighted that his bishop in Davenport (Gerald Francis O'Keefe) has pledged his continued support. There is speculation that he may go for a time to Latin America, but all he is saying is that he will try "to continue serving those who hunger and thirst for justice in whatever way I can in keeping with my conscience and the influence of the Holy Spirit."

GARY MACEOIN

(Gary MacEoin's latest book is Revolution Next Door: Latin American in the 1970s, *Holt, Rinehart.)*

NEXT WEEK

THOMAS M. CONRAD writes about Government secrecy, security and gullibility:

"It is time to break out of the usual pattern of public debate, the pattern which is uselessly repeated on each occasion of scandal. *Of course* the Government lies to us; *of course* such lying is immoral and contrary to democratic principles. Ritual pieties about the public right to knowledge in a democracy and professions of shock do not address the practical issue of citizenry control of government."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE YEAR OF THE PRISONS

"Tear down the wall"—but what then?

JIM CASTELLI

This has been dubbed "The Year of the Prisons" because of the sudden interest in the subject, but amidst all the hoopla, critics have either ignored or slipped in a terrified aside about the most important development of all—the attention "the Movement" is now paying to prisons.

Surrounded by the literature from Mao, Che, and Franz Fanon, radicals speak of the triangle of oppression in a society consisting of the military, the police and the prisons. Having offered the GI rights movement and community control of the police as partial answers to the first two sides of the triangle, they are now turning to the prisons. Of course, it is no coincidence that middle-class radicals began worrying about the subject when middle-class radicals started filling the prisons. (Nicholas von Hoffman has noted that today you are liable to meet a better class of people in jail than you will out.)

The influence of the Movement on prisons can have two directly opposite results: it can galvanize public support behind reform for the mess our prisons are in, or it can create situations which will invite bloodbaths inside the prisons and a repressive atmosphere outside them.

Organized demonstrations of inmates similar to the spontaneous demonstrations at the Tombs in New York last year have been suggested. But those demonstrations produced more consultants' projects than improvements (which were virtually nil), and barely missed becoming a disaster when Mayor Lindsay agreed to meet immediately with demonstration leaders after he had presented an "ultimatum." In addition to the lack of reforms, prisoners and guards who had been promised amnesty have since been prosecuted.

Prisons are a closed system, and are hardly a microcosm of reality. Rage, frustration, fear and despair are omnipresent, and increasing the number of demonstrations only increases the odds that untrained, uneducated, and often overtly prejudiced guards will fire blindly into groups of inmates; and there is no guarantee that inmates might not also endanger the lives of innocent people.

But the most dangerous result of such confrontations could be the erasure of the current interest in reform and a final blurring of the distinction between penalty and punishment. Karl Menninger in *The Crime of Punishment* explains that "Price is an agreed upon, predetermined value voluntarily tendered in exchange for a desired goal or gain. Penalty is a predetermined price, levied automatically, invariably and categorically in direct relation to a violation or an infraction of a pre-set rule or 'law.' . . . Punishment is in part an attitude, a philosophy. It is the deliberate infliction of pain in addition to or in lieu of penalty. It is the prolonged or excessive infliction of penalty, or penalty out of all proportion to the offense."

Penalties a necessary to insure the survival of any society, but society too often abuses them and turns them into punishment. The extent to which this is true can be seen in the case of Cummins Prison Farm in Arkansas; U.S. District Judge J. Smith Henley ruled that confinement in Cummins amounted to "banishment from civilized society to a dark and evil place," and said he would close it if changes were not made. In other words, a single day in some of our prisons amounts to unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment. (Perhaps the

JIM CASTELLI *is a staff writer and columnist for* The Catholic News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more judges who see our prisons first-hand, the faster change will come.)

The burdens of punishment create the frustrations and hatred that cause detainees to lose sight of the need for any penalties at all. If someone comes into a prison proclaiming that all prisoners are political prisoners, it is an easy jump for a detainee to conclude that any act of crime is a legitimate revolutionary act. Part of the reason for this can be found in the "contamination-by-cooperation" teachings of Herbert Marcuse. Georgetown University Law Professor William Stanmeyer, writing in the *St. John's Law Review,* describes Marcuse's contention that to follow the laws of a society is to accept the values of that society, and that if you want to change those values, you cannot obey that society's laws. The obvious fallacy, of course, is that there are certain types of anti-social behavior which would be forbidden in any society. While Marcuse himself shuns violence, some of his followers may be encouraging it.

Thomas Murton, who was removed as superintendent at Cummins when his reforms included attempting to investigate the bodies of prisoners found buried on the farm, told *Playboy* that "A society will always have its outcasts. . . . Certain inmate groups and radical reformers have taken up the cry 'Tear down the walls' . . . but they're like some of the radicals in the larger society who want to abolish the system: They don't have anything to replace it with. The people who want to abolish the prisons system don't have an alternative method of taking dangerous people off the streets. I want to see the walls torn down, too; but until they are and something better replaces them, I want to help the inmates who are still behind them."

An example that will strike home is the experience of Philip Berrigan with Boyd Douglas. In a *New York Times* article exploring the background of the Berrigan case (a piece which wasn't even reported by NC News Service), John Kifner described how Berrigan had been taken in by Douglas' "conversion," only to have Douglas, by all reports unstable and a chronic liar, turn up as an FBI informer. Kifner quotes an anonymous source within the peace movement as saying "These people believed in Douglas because they thought he was a convert. They were naive victims of their own ideology. If you believe all prisoners are political prisoners, what's better than a prisoner turned political. They believed what they wanted to hear."

Actually, those who shout "Tear down the walls" are about 80 percent right. Only 15 to 20 percent of all prisoners need to be confined for the good of society or for their own protection. The others could be better dealt with through half-way houses, restitution and probation, "part-time" imprisonment, fines, and through social and psychiatric programs. Milton Rector, Executive Director of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency claims that "Criminal justice leaders should be in the forefront in refusing to accept the sick, the homeless, the socially and mentally ill in the courts, in the jails, in the prisons. Granted if they did so refuse, this would create a huge overload on the public health agencies and the welfare agencies. But I submit that's where the overload belongs."

There is no rational reason to support the present system, for it simply has not done its jobs of rehabilitating and preventing recidivism. In some areas, the recidivism rate ranges from 45 to 70 percent and most people in prison have been there before. The only significant innovation has been the indeterminate sentence system, which inmates have likened to "being in school and not knowing when you'll graduate," and which, when not run by Solomons—which is always the case—imposes more severe psychological punishment on the inmate.

"We Need Crime"

Why have the other more rational and humane changes not been made? A large part of the answer lies in Menninger's assertion that we *need* crime: "We condemn crime; we punish offenders for it; but we need it. The crime and punishment ritual is a part of our lives. We need crime to wonder at, to enjoy vicariously, to discuss and speculate about, and to publicly deplore. We need criminals to identify ourselves with, to secretly envy, and to stoutly punish. Criminals represent our alter-egos —our bad selves—rejected and projected. They do for us the forbidden, the illegal things we wish to do, and like scapegoats of old they bear the burdens of our displaced guilt and punishment."

We need criminals to act out our evil fantasies for us the same way we need religious to be holy for us, heroes to be brave for us, and government officials to exercise power for us. Henry Wiehofen in *The Urge to Punish says* "No one is more ferocious in demanding that the murderer or rapist 'pay' for his crime than the man who has felt strong impulses in the same direction. . . . It is never he who is without sin who casts the first stone. . . . A criminal trial, like a prizefight, is a public performance in which the spectators work off in a socially acceptable way aggressive impulses of much the same kind that the man on trial worked off in a socially unacceptable way."

Our need for criminals extends to our classifying a man as a "criminal" and abandoning him simply because he is accused; that is the largest reason why 52 percent of all inmates in America have not yet been to trial and are technically, constitutionally, innocent.

It is only fitting that America, the country with the world's greatest masculinity hangup, punishes its prisoners by emasculating them. The most unspoken, and most severe, punishment of our prisoners, is their separation from a heterosexual atmosphere; they are driven to homosexuality to such an extent that we are not shocked

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by the large scale existence of prison homosexuality, although we would be by the harsh reality of it. Norman Mailer, in what may have been his only worthwhile comment in *The Prisoner of Sex*, said that the shame of the prison homosexual is that he is forced into the passivity of the female without the dignity of femininity.

This sexual passivity is reinforced in the daily life of the prisoner, who has no say in decisions concerning him, and who learns that the quickest way out is to do what you're told. But if a man makes no decisions for himself while he's in prison, he can make none when he's out—the quickest way out of prison is also the quickest way back in.

Equally as important as preventing recidivism is cutting down on the number of people coming into the prisons for the first time. The "decriminalization" of the law is a must. Gambling and prostitution must be dealt with administratively, or legalized, unless violence, theft, coercion, or blackmail are involved. The Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws has recommended that possession of small quantities of marijuana be punishable by a maximum fine of $1,000, not imprisonment, and that laws against homosexuality be wiped off the books. None of these actions necessarily harm others, and laws concerning sexual relations between consenting adults are an invasion of privacy. Most of these laws are also unenforceable and show the law at its weakest, reducing respect for law; they also lend themselves to abuses, such as harassment of homosexuals and graft from gamblers and pimps.

Norval Morris, Director of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice at the University of Chicago Law School, and co-author of *The Honest Politician's Guide to Crime Control*, says "The system should confine itself to doing what it is capable of doing—protecting those who *ask* for the protection of the criminal law—rather than denying people the right to go to hell in their own way. We cannot stop them, anyway, and this would relieve and energize the whole criminal justice system."

Concurrent with the "decriminalization" of some acts must come the "criminalization" of others. White-collar crimes cost the country far more every year than the typical lower-class crime, and because they go all but unpunished, this leads to a greater disrespect for the law. The Commission on Reform of Federal Criminal Laws also recommended stronger penalties for these crimes, and suggested, for example, that fraud be punished by a fine up to twice the amount gained by the fraud.

Another recommendation of the Commission that is important is the abolition of the death penalty. Even though the death penalty has been more a vague threat than a reality for the past few years, it is still legal, and still shows potential law-breakers that society itself will accept murder if it has the proper sanctions.

Any good policeman will tell you that a law cannot be enforced unless the whole community wants it enforced. The fewer laws a society has, and the more widely they are accepted by the people, the better the criminal justice system will function. We have too long equated legality and morality so that we now face a situation in which serious crimes go unpunished because of the draining-off of energy to the lesser and non-victim crimes. And as long as the law is equated with morality, tyranny looms as the end product.

Making Reform Palatable

One crucial incentive is needed to make these reforms palatable to the general public. In a report on prisons issued last summer, British Quakers said that people would be more willing to go along with reform if victims of crime were better compensated for their losses, time and trouble. When punishment is the only available form of compensation, people will opt for it; when they are repaid for their troubles, they will be more sympathetic to the troubles of others. Woman's Lib has shown us that rape victims receive little sympathy or help because there is an attitude among the police and public that any woman who is raped was "asking for it." This same attitude seems to apply to ghetto blacks who, suburban paranoia to the contrary, are the principal victims of crime committed by other ghetto blacks. When victims are treated with respect, then people will be more willing to treat criminals with respect, working for rehabilitation programs for those who can be rehabilitated, and livable conditions for those who cannot. Bronx District Attorney Burton Roberts, who has a "tough" reputation agrees with those such as Ramsey Clark who remind us that the freer a society is, the more generous it is to its transgressors.

Better treatment for victims of crime might also make some people more willing to hire ex-convicts. *Newsweek* pointed out that the reluctance of people to hire ex-inmates teaches them that "crime pays because nothing else does." We must also do away with state laws which confound the rehabilitative process: inmates who are trained to be barbers, for example, cannot get a job because their prison record will prevent them from getting a license.

One important result of the attention being paid to prisons is that it has finally taken the attention off the police as the sole means of crime prevention. No real progress can be made unless we view the criminal justice system—police, courts, prosecutors, defenders and corrections—as a whole. To alleviate the prison situation, we must not only reform the institutions themselves and decriminalize the law; we must guarantee speedy trials; we must deal administratively with as many offenses as possible (the Administration has suggested "parajudges" to handle this); we must bring young men responsive to change, not political hacks, to our judgeships; we must increase the numbers of idealistic lawyers as both

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prosecutors and defenders; we must professionalize the police; we must upgrade the training of guards and probation and parole officers; we must remember that the criminal justice system *is* a system, and cannot be managed successfully otherwise.

The final point may seem hackneyed, but it is still the truth—our prisons will not be sane, nor our safety guaranteed, as long as crime continues to be the best means of upward social mobility for thousands of young people trapped in unlivable conditions. Norval Morris told a National Consultation on Shaping Safer Cities:

"We *could* make a more decent, efficient system of criminal justice that would better protect the community and fulfill the promise of equality before the law—which has remained merely a promise. We could reduce recidivism, muggings, burglaries, robberies *somewhat*—but the criminal justice system is not a massive system of social reform. Those who rely on it for that purpose make just as big a mistake as those who want to control the moral behavior of others. . . .

"The conditions of welfare, housing, education and employment are much more important to the crime rate than anything else. All we can do is increase the equality and efficiency of the criminal justice system."

This lack of equality and justice is most apparent in the prisons which blacks see as a means of persecuting the poor, and which many others see as an illegitimate means of social control. It is because of the increasing urgency of these truths that we can't afford to let this become "The Year Everyone Talked About Prisons. . . ."

REFORMING PRISON REFORM

Beware of liberal hearts and threatened bureaucracies

DONALD G. SHOCKLEY

With all the attention lately focused upon the intolerable conditions in the nation's prisons, it seems likely that some gesture in the direction of reform may be forthcoming. Richard Nixon has campaign promises to be met by doing something about prisons, and Chief Justice Warren E. Burger frequently points to the ineffectiveness of present efforts in the penal system. Before it is too late, some serious questions need to be raised about the prospect of prison reform itself.

Other movements for social justice should have taught us by now to distrust the noblest instincts of the liberal heart on the one hand, and to have a healthy respect for the ability of a threatened bureaucracy to create the illusion of change on the other. Under the humanitarian banner of "Let the punishment fit the criminal," for example, progressive reformers established the philosophy of the "indeterminate sentence" in California in 1917. The idea was to treat each offender as an individual and to release him whenever, in the opinion of skilled professionals, he was "ready" rather than having him do his time regardless of his progress toward rehabilitation.

In practice, the indeterminate sentence has achieved precisely the opposite of its humanitarian goals. The system places in the hands of the California Adult Authority (parole board) a power unknown to any court of law in America, and it operates with an arrogance commensurate with its power. The sentence of "one year to life" is commonly meted out by the courts for a wide range of offenses, and the power to determine the actual length of time behind bars is delegated to the AA. An inmate appears briefly before hearing officers once each year and the decision is made to either set a date for parole or simply return the prisoner to his cell for another year. The inmate is not allowed counsel at the hearing, the AA is not required to justify its decision to anyone, and no appeal is possible.

In calling for prison reform, Chief Justice Burger endorses the indeterminate sentence as "much better than the mandatory sentence." Much better for whom? Designed to shorten the period of confinement, the indeterminate sentence has resulted in California's having the *longest* average prison terms for given offenses of any state in the nation. Among the many abuses of the system, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund has charged that parole hearings increasingly probe the political views of the inmate, and a young parolee recently reported that in one such interview he was asked his opinion of Eldridge Cleaver. As the focus of inmate hostility, the indeterminate sentence does more to embitter prisoners against society than any other feature of California justice.

DONALD G. SHOCKLEY *is Chaplain and Assistant Professor of Religion at Birmingham Southern College in Alabama.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In his campaign for prison reform Justice Burger is calling for a massive expenditure of federal funds "to do what is necessary: rebuild plants; hire trained personnel, psychologists, teachers." In the opinion of some highly qualified persons, the "reformation" of the penal system along these lines would be a tragedy of colossal proportions, salving the conscience of the nation through the creation of still more extensive, ultimately self-serving, bureaucracies. Before millions of dollars are plowed into present programs and public interest in prisons subsides for another 50 years, it is a matter of utmost urgency that we reexamine not just current penal *practice*, but the theory supporting it as well.

A recent conference sponsored by the California Council of Prisoner Organizations (CCPO) brought together a remarkably diverse company of persons related in one way or another to criminal justice: politicians, penologists, corrections officers, lawyers, representatives of such groups as the ACLU, AFSC, NAACP, and scores of ex-convicts. Early in the day, Professor Caleb Foote of the Law and Society Center at Berkeley offered a vigorous critique, not of prisons, but of those who would reform them. He argued that the current problems with the penal system result from the theory of rehabilitation itself, a theory which is the brainchild of concerned liberals.

The root of the problem with rehabilitation, Foote argued, is the scientifically unwarranted assumption of a medical analogy in dealing with offenders. Persons who are convicted of crimes are automatically assumed to be "sick" and therefore in need of "treatment" which will "cure" them. Reformers generally do not question this premise. Like Burger, they simply argue that there isn't enough money available to do the job.

Experts at the CCPO conference in San Francisco were virtually unanimous in agreeing that there is no evidence which shows a positive correlation between behavior in prison, i.e., adjustment or rehabilitation, and parole success. As a matter of fact, ACLU staff counsel Paul Halvonik cited evidence to the contrary. When the Gideon decision of the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of an indigent defendant's right to counsel, a large group of prisoners was released early, without regard to attitudes or behavior during confinement. A study of these early releases in Florida found that their rate of recidivism was one-half as high as that of other inmates who finished their terms behind bars. Dr. Foote said, "We know *nothing* for certain about the 'treatment' of criminals, and nothing about predicting antisocial behavior in the future." Apparently there is no rational basis for either granting or denying paroles from prison.

According to Foote, the basic goal of present rehabilitation programs is "unquestioning obedience to authority." The young black parolee mentioned above told the conference that the one thing he was never allowed

TRAGEDY AT ATTICA

We can only be distressed that this issue of *Commonweal* is so relevant to the recent headlines. It was in type when the report came of the bloody culmination to the tragic events at Attica, New York. The issue at Attica was *time*: was there time to negotiate, was it time to attack? And the time to make changes? That was already lost. No such hurry then. But for all the prisons which are not yet Atticas, the issue is also time. Will it be wasted?

THE EDITORS

rudimentary matters such as eating and dressing, was determined by others and regulated by the ringing of bells. The point at which radical change must occur is in the basic concept of rehabilitation, and not at the level of more tinkering with programs, structures and personnel.

At the San Francisco conference, sociologist John Irwin (himself a former prisoner and author of *The Felon*) said that "rehabilitation is more cruel than punishment," and called for the abolition of the whole euphemistic rehabilitation superstructure in favor of an unapologetic system of *punishment* for crimes committed. Assuming that this society can find no alternative to locking offenders in cages for prolonged periods, Irwin's solution is not without merit. For one thing, an inmate would know exactly what is required of him—already a big improvement over the indeterminate sentence! And, knowing what we do about the socially detrimental effects of long-term imprisonment, sentences could be greatly reduced without diminishing either the punishment effect or the correctional potential of incarceration, whatever that might be.

Regardless of what shape the inevitable changes in the penal system may take, it ought at least to be clear that we do not need a larger and more expensive version of what we are currently doing. The present system is a failure. It has failed not because it lacked modern buildings, adequate budgets and trained professionals, but because its basic assumptions are false.

The question of what to do about prisons strikes far more deeply than most of us—reformers included—care to contemplate. The role of a penal system in any society must relate to the basic goals of the culture. If the moral focus of those goals is blurred, the administration of "justice" becomes problematic indeed. When Paul Cook left San Quentin to return to an Oakland ghetto, he said that the qualitative difference between being in and being out was not as great as he had hoped. The guard towers were gone, but the threat of violent reprisal continued in the sight of frequent police cars patrolling neighborhood streets with shotguns prominently displayed. As someone put it at the close of the CCPO conference, we have all got somehow to learn that criminal and social justice are inextricably linked.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

REFLECTIONS FROM THE PIG FARM

Life in a federal pen

THOMAS LEWIS

penitentiary, used for punishment, discipline and reformation
Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary

"The Scream," a 1900 painting by Edward Munch; it portrays a screaming woman with hands over ears, all sound seeming shut out. The color value is predominantly raw umber or dark. Emerging out of the painting are two indefinable figures.

"The Echo of a Scream," a painting by Siqueiros; it shows a screaming Mexican child surrounded by decay, rubble and poverty.

Vietnam Vietnam, a book by Felix Greene; it features a photograph of a screaming Vietnamese mother holding her dead child. The child had been killed in an American search and destroy mission.

"The Side of Beef," a painting by Rembrandt Van Rijn; it depicts a side of beef hanging by a meat hook in a 16th century slaughter house.

"You will work at the slaughter house and the pig farm," echoed the words of the head warden, or "hack-with-a-hardon," in the parlance of many prisoners on the farm at Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary. Presumably, this would be my occupation much of my time in prison for pouring blood over draft files in Baltimore and for incinerating more files in Catonsville.

Lewisburg—the complex consisting of the Wall (the main prison, built to house about 1000 prisoners; population now over 1300) and the Farm Dorm, built to house about 75, now housing over 160. Both were built as a WPA project in the '30s'. A typical work day begins at 6:30 a.m. Lights go on in the hall and the sound grows of running water, flushing toilets and murmuring voices. I am in the top bunk of a small, five-man room, at the Farm Dorm. The room is about 9-by-15-feet; there are two double bunks and one single bed, with a small card table across it. No posters, pictures or graffiti are allowed on the concrete block walls, only a penitentiary-approved calendar. The floor is poured concrete.

Stepping first to the radiator, then to the floor—cold even though it was June—I slip into some shower slippers, mumble good morning to anyone awake, then head blurry-eyed down the hall to the bathroom. The bathroom reminded me of the ones at Fort Knox, where I did basic training with the Army about nine years ago: a row of six toilets; across from them, a row of six sinks. Bathroom etiquette, to steal a phrase from somebody's rulebook, is much more wholesome in prison than in the Army. Here a guy on the toilet flushes it periodically to keep the smell down; in the Army the bathroom would smell mornings like an Ohio backhouse in mid-July.

The Penitentiary, the Army—one might say that I am the guest of the United States government. All expenses paid, free travel, clothes, food, lodging—it sounds like a Utopian travel poster. Almost. In the first case, honorably discharged after eight years service; in the second case, six years' prison sentence for protesting a genocidal war.

At 7 a.m., breakfast. I walk down to the main floor of the three-story farm dorm. A day room, a play room and the mess hall. For breakfast the line is usually small, as some prisoners skip breakfast for extra sleep. The mess hall resembles a typical Horn and Hardart cafeteria; tables seat four. A well-balanced meal is served, the "gem" of some nutrition expert working for the government.

At 8 the hack, or guard who is in charge of the piggery, walks through the ground floor of the building shouting "piggery." What else? This is the signal for those working on the pig farm and at the slaughter house that the truck will be leaving in a few minutes.

At 8:05 the scene in front of the farm dorm looks like something out of *Cool Hand Luke*. The farm crew, the piggery crew, landscaping crew and garage crew all pile onto the backs of government-owned duck-and-halfs. The trucks take off in movieland fashion, kicking up dust, prisoners shouting early morning quips to one another.

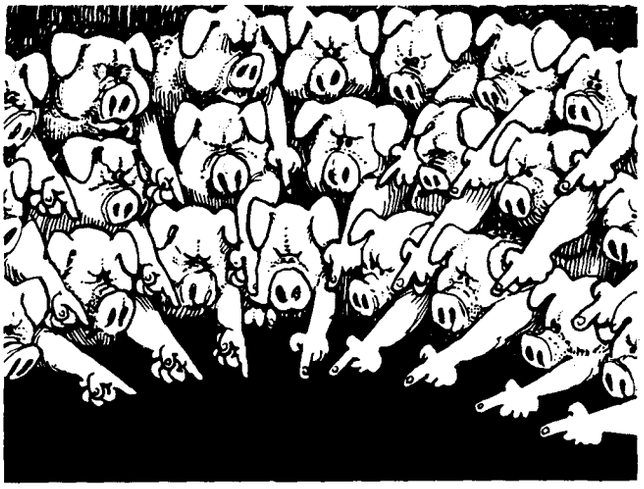
Work at the pig farm heads the list of undesirable jobs at the Lewisburg complex. There were nine others in the crew with me. On Tuesdays and Wednesdays we would work at the slaughter house, the rest of the time at the pig farm. There are about 2,000 pigs on the farm. About 25 are born every week; about 22 slaughtered each week.

At the Democratic Convention in Chicago, the Yippies elected a pig for President; he had all the qualifications,

THOMAS LEWIS, *an artist, recently completed a term at Lewisburg for destroying draft records during the Baltimore 4 and Catonsville 9 actions. He is co-author, with Daniel Berrigan, of* Trial Poems.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and, besides, his name was Pigasus. At the farm we thought this was great. Someone suggested that we nominate a pig for President. We discussed this, then in a Democratic fashion selected Runti. A few campaign posters were tacked on the shoat lot, or pen, that Runti was in, and he was given a few pieces of candy by one of the crew that week. The crew was made up of four blacks, a Puerto Rican, five whites. One of the crew was a Jehovah Witness who had a squeamish stomach and hated to work on slaughtering days. He was in for four



years for refusing to do alternative service because it is against his religious beliefs. The Puerto Rican was from New York; he was a con artist and dope pusher, and had done time before. One of the hardest workers on the crew was a black guy who had been hung on heroin, kicked the habit, but got some time in the meanwhile. Robbery, assault, bad checks and moonshining were among some of the others' tags.

The Vietnam war—yes, it's an issue with most of the prisoners. The mass media are saturated with war, and it is through the media—periodicals, TV, newspapers, books—that the imprisoned mind escapes vicariously to the outside world. Even if the trip to the world beyond the wall is a fantasy, it is touched by the war. Most of the prisoners that I come in contact with have respect for my position and actions against the war. We are all in the same bag, so to say. The oppressing big brother is the government; it's government which keeps us behind the walls, and attempts to get our mind "right" for when we leave. A right mind is castration. Most of the men know this, or sense it.

The ride to the pig farm takes about eight minutes. We would travel along a dusty road that went by the base of the awesome 10-foot walls of Lewisburg. Inside the walls the prisoners were beginning their workday too. Some mornings my eyes and thoughts would travel through those walls and reflect on conversations. ("You got six years for burning that paper! I wish somebody would burn mine." . . . "Thirty years for counterfeiting and I've done 13. I'll never leave these walls. When I am finished here they have a retainer on me and that sheriff will be waiting for me at the gate. Some more new prisoners, I think a bus load just came up from Atlanta. I would rather do time at Atlanta than here, at least there the hacks don't give you any shit." . . . "Play the game, join the Holy Name, become the chaplain's assistant—you got it made. Go to church, work on the paper, do your job, go to Holy Communion, repent, kiss ass—it looks good on your parole record." . . . "The *G* ward— that's where they keep the homosexuals; G ward, Girl ward. Get yourself a prison wife; five raped that guy. I like to beat the shit out of the shaken ass queen." . . . "Well, we lost one today; he hung himself in receiving-and-discharge. That guy was killed with a razor and it never got in the papers. You go to solitary for a week and see if that doesn't straighten you out.")

The truck rounds the turn and we head up the drive way to the pig pens and slaughter house. Jumping off the truck, we put on our boots and work clothes, actually old worn-out prison clothing. Ours is one of the few work crews which had special work clothes and which had to be changed twice a week; reasons obvious.

On Monday evenings we would chase about 20 pigs into the slaughter pens. At times this would provide an occasion for some prisoners to flip out with violence on some of the animals. I once saw three of the prisoners nearly beat a sow to death with iron pipes. I know some of these guys could see faces of hacks, judges and those who put them behind bars on those pigs.

I put on my black rubber apron, tie the knife-sleeve around my waist, then begin sharpening my knife to get it to a razor's edge. Thus begins a typical Tuesday morning at the slaughter house. Today we slaughter, tomorrow we butcher. The pig is hoisted up on a chain by one foot, a knife is thrust into his throat, blood shoots out over the hand holding the knife. When pigs are small, they bark like small dogs; when they are killed, they scream like people. It takes the pig anywhere from 15 to 30 seconds to die, screaming and jerking the whole time. He is then put into a tub of scalding hot lye water, which softens his hair so it can be scraped off with knives. This was my job in the slaughter house. Then the head is cut off. The insides are removed, then hung on a meat hook. Rembrandt's painting in the 16th century; Lewisburg in the 20th.

In some ways you get used to the pigs screaming all day, although it is always hard on the nerves. At times when I am scraping pigs, my mind's eye reflects on Munch's painting "The Scream," or the screaming Mexican child portrayed by Siqueiros. But always my thoughts go to the war in Vietnam and how the screaming of the people must sound during a bombing or napalm attack. The sounds of the planes, the B-52's must be deafening. One screaming pig sounds loud; 100 screaming people must be unbearable.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CIAO, PAGLIACCI

THE SCREEN

During World War I there was a German general who wished to meet a certain Italian lady of noble birth. The lady could see no way to escape the introduction, but first (legend tells us) she slashed her hand so she would at least not have to suffer the general's kissing it. The lady was Luchino Visconti's mother, and thus we see that from her he inherited two things: a revulsion for Germans and a love of melodrama.

The latter has characterized all Visconti's films. Before making films he was Milan's leading director of opera, and in the opera house his inherited flamboyance was refined into the artistic sensibilities we now see on the screen. For instance, the climax of *Rocco and His Brothers* (1960) comes when Simone stabs his ex-girlfriend Nadia—and stabs her and stabs her. In fact he stabs her 15 times. While the violence of this scene is not typical of Visconti's work, the excess, the unabashed melodrama, is.

But Visconti hasn't restricted himself to stories about the Roccos of the world. Like Bunuel, having begun by making black-and-white films about the misery of the poor, Visconti now makes color films about the depravity of the rich. This is where the Germans come in. Visconti's last film, *The Damned*, is about the Krupp family's adaptation to Nazism. The film's characters are about as far as possible from Rocco, or from the Sicilian fishermen who played themselves in Visconti's neo-realistic *La Terra Trema* (1948). But with incest, homosexuality, child rape, murder and drug addiction, *The Damned* hardly impairs Visconti's reputation for melodrama. One had the feeling Visconti was now trying to stab the Germans 15 times.

Visconti's new film, *Death in Venice*, continues his interest in the decline and fall of Germans as well as his association with *The Damned*'s leading man, Dirk Bogarde. But in this film Visconti has, as it were, taken on a new collaborator: Thomas Mann, on whose 1911 novelette the script is based. The collaboration has not been a happy one. Mann wouldn't be upset at Visconti's attitude toward the German upper classes, for other early Mann stories could have been episodes in *The Damned*. But this time Visconti and Mann have disagreed completely about the main character.

Mann's is an uncluttered story about a famous writer, Aschenbach, who goes to Venice on holiday. At his hotel Aschenbach notices a boy so beautiful that watching him becomes an obsession. Even when he learns the city is being ravaged by pestilence, Aschenbach cannot leave the boy in order to flee. What Visconti adds to this is—what else?—melodrama. Besides changing Aschenbach into a composer, Visconti throws in flashbacks in which Aschenbach has a dead child for whom he weeps, a protégé from whom he is alienated, an audience by whom he is repudiated and a whore with whom, apparently, he is impotent.

Visconti seems to be trying to clarify Aschenbach's motives, but he only changes his character from a mystery into a puzzle. Giving the whore the same name as the boat that brings Aschenbach to Venice, for example, is an innovation of a sort too crude to be helpful. To do better Visconti would have had to understand Mann's idea of Aschenbach. He hasn't done so, however, for he makes Bogarde play Aschenbach as doddering and rumpled instead of imperious, the way Mann had him. Visconti's Aschenbach is really too pathetic. In Mann's story we feel Aschenbach suffers for being what he is. In Visconti's film we feel that he suffers only because Visconti is persecuting him.

The only Italian clown familiar to most of us is Pagliacci, whom we know from the world of opera, Visconti's world, rather than from the circus itself. I'm not sure whether Pagliacci is a real clown or a fiction existing solely in melodrama. But this self-pitying creature is not Federico Fellini's idea of a clown. The clown featured in Fellini's new documentary, appropriately entitled *The Clown*, is named Augusto. He's an untidy bungler and a clown type that was brought to perfection about fifty years ago by the three Fratellini Brothers, a circus act whose only survivor receives a prominent place in Fellini's film.

The sequence in which Fratellini appears demonstrates *The Clowns*' scrupulous adherence to reality and the principles of cinéma vérité. Fellini visits the aging clown at his home, arriving in a mini-mote from which cameramen, script girls, gaffers, grips, soundmen, factota and Fellini himself all emerge at once. They have come especially to see a movie made of the Fratellini act in 1924. Unfortunately Fratellini unreels the film all over his living room and then burns it up in the projector. In the end Fellini just dissolves from an old photograph into his own recreation of the brothers' famous free performances at war hospitals and insane asylums.

Before shrugging off such clowning as undocumentary, consider the quality of the document it provides. Most of the film consists of interviews and encounters similar to the one with Fratellini. The purpose of all this material, Fellini says, is to investigate reports that "the clown is dead." Of course Fellini discovers so many great Augustos, and they are all so lively, that we can't believe the reports are serious. Fellini himself treats them as laughable. Yet all the clowns in the film except one are, like Fratellini, old and retired. Fellini's constant companion is the French scholar of clowns, Tristan Remy, and his presence, though discreet, adds to our impression that Fellini's search is an archaeological ex-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pedition. In this context the loss of Fratellini's film clips, even if that loss is only a gag, takes on a certain seriousness. If Fellini can come away from his own film feeling that the clown is not dead and forgotten after all, the reason may be in the film itself, which has at least documented a few clowns before it was too late.

The film's grand finale reunites dozens of costumed old clowns in a circus ring. They assemble to hold a mock funeral and otherwise celebrate the death of the clown. This is the film's most effective denial of the rumor that the clown is dead. These clowns' riotous mourning seems to fit Pierre-Armé Touchard's splendid phrase "a song of despair." Clearly anyone who sings about his despair also overcomes it.

Fellini himself acts as a cinematic ringmaster for the clowns, and at one point during the funeral an interviewer asks him piously what his message is in this film. Before he can answer, however, a bucket drops over his head. In effect that bucket is the answer. Like the clowns, Fellini would overcome despair by singing about it. The spirit of these clowns informs most of his films. He has been a ringmaster before, at the end of *8½*, and clowns appear in his films from *La Strada* to the saturnalia of *Satyricon*. Petronius, the author of the original *Satyricon*, was the official ringmaster, the imperially appointed *arbiter elegentiae*, in Nero's Rome. It is a title Fellini covets. What he admires in these clowns (or Petronius) is the complete lack of sentimentalism like Pagliacci's. *The Clowns'* recreation of the Fratellinis' performance at the insane asylum evokes very strongly the mood of all Fellini's films. In the world of these films, where all the people seem as foolish as clowns, the only people who are not foolish are the clowns themselves.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

BOOKS

The Red and the Black: two Italian priests

LAWRENCE CUNNINGHAM

In the winter of 1961 the Milan publishing house of Feltrinelli received thirty notebooks full of cramped handwriting, bad spelling and obscure Calabrian dialect words. Within six months another one hundred notebooks arrived very much in the same condition. The author was an obscure Calabrian priest and the subject of the book was his life in the South of Italy. It took the editors about a year to decipher, transcribe and somewhat correct the nearly six thousand pages that the pseudonymous Don Luca Asprea had written. There was also an editorial split about publication that finally caused the whole text to be ultimately sent to the archives. Last year a new editor, Enrico Regazzoni, reread the whole book, had it pared down to four hundred pages, and this year the book was published in an experimental series under the title of *Il Previtocciolo* (lit. "a little priest"; a seminarian). It sold just over eighteen thousand copies in one month, a rather good record in Italy.

The book itself makes for difficult, if fascinating, reading. The scope of the action is limited to the early childhood of the author, his emerging adolescence and his entrance into the seminary. About his priestly life, we learn nothing.

As for the flavor of the work, it is Carlo Levi and the early Ignazio Silone writ large. The reader is plunged into the dirt, squalor and misery of Southern Italy in the Fascist era seen through the eyes of a young boy who, thanks to a father who had been to America, was spared the worst degradations of poverty. It is an autobiography in the best sense of the word—it is completely self-revelatory and uninhibited. The early fascination of Fascism with its uniforms and panoply; the distrust of the police and the mystique of the *Camorra* ("What is the purpose of the razor? To disfigure the face of the infamous. The blade goes in sweetly and exits bitterly."); the mixture of ancient pruderies and spastic sexuality; the almost incoherent love/hate for the land and its fruits—it is all there in a rushing torrent of prose almost as baroque as the church facades of the old kingdom of Naples.

In sharp contrast to the fleshiness of Don Asprea's childhood memories is his picture of the seminary that he entered as a pre-adolescent. For the picture is of a saccharine piety and a military discipline exerted over the young "previtoccioli" to mold them into soldiers of Christ and, at the same time, make them forget the highly scatological *patois* of the streets, the dusky girls so unwillingly virgin, and the freedom of the countryside. Make no mistake about it, the author does not describe the ecclesiastical life with the eye of a reformer (he is still a priest, still anonymous, and according to reports, now in a Calabrian monastery to escape notoriety) but as one who relates what he has lived. In doing this, he is capable of flashes of real insight, often unconsciously ironical: In the refectory of the seminary the reader noted from the *Osservatore Romano* that the Jesuit general had died. He watched for the reaction of his Jesuit professors sitting at the head table: "Instead of eating, they devoured their food, showing no interest in the death. They ate with

LAWRENCE CUNNINGHAM *teaches at Florida State University's Study Center in Florence, Italy.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three times the speed of a normal day; it was as if they had the same thought: eat, friends, because it is true that one dies. Eat! Don't lose time!"

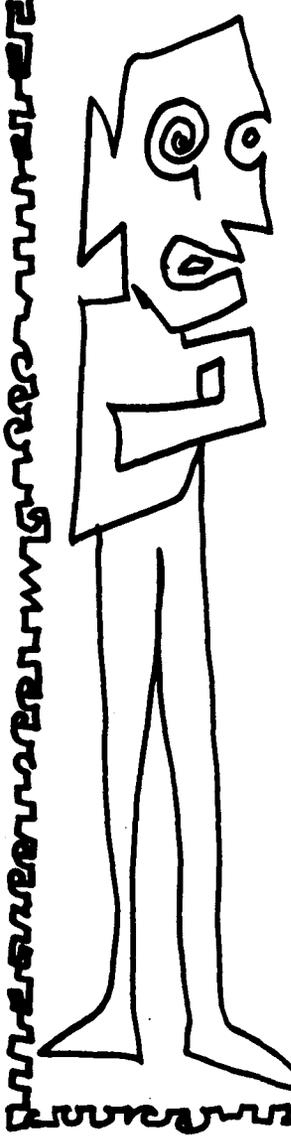
In the last analysis *Il Previtocciolo* is a fascinating peek at a man's interior life and a near-sociological report on the tension-ridden attempt of one man to live a rationally disciplined life in an essentially pagan (in the best sense of the word) milieu. However, *Il Previtocciolo* runs the risk of underlining all of the standard clichés about Italian life and religion. The picture of Italy is that stereotype of earthy cynicism and poverty of the town in sharp contrast with the world-weary and faintly decadent institution known as the Italian church. *Il Previtocciolo* gives ample opportunity to anyone interested in reinforcing these clichés. Venal priests, sword-pierced madonnas, a desperate confusion of values (e.g., a street vendor in Asprea's hometown: "Holy cards with prayers to the Madonna against the English. Only twenty centesimi!"), and such like abound. That is why the *Letters of Don Lorenzo Milani,* published last year, make such an interesting and valuable contrast to *Il Previtocciolo,* for, while the voice of Don Asprea comes from the baroque squares of Calabria, the voice of Don Milani originates in the bleak mountain villages of Tuscany.

Lorenzo Milani was born in Florence in 1923, the son of a Catholic father and Jewish mother. In 1930 the family relocated in Milan where Lorenzo finished school and started to study painting at the Brera academy. Because of the outbreak of the war the family went back to Florence to be closer to relatives. In the autumn of 1943 he entered the diocesan seminary and was ordained a priest in 1947.

Milani's life as a priest, first as an assistant and later as a pastor of the mountain village of Barbiana (with a congregation that never reached a hundred souls) was marked by controversy.

Don Milani was early interested in social questions and his desire to identify with the working class coupled with his refusal to give unqualified support to the Christian Democratic party made many people suspicious of him. His free workers' schools were looked on as being dangerously oriented to Marxist ideas. For many, in those Pacellian days of the cold war, he was *il prete rosso*—the red priest. The 1958 publication of *Esperienze Pastorali* was greeted both by clamorous enthusiasm and some acerbic criticism, the latter being led by a reviewer for *Civiltà Cattolica.* Because of his criticism of church politics, his open-handed approach to Italian Communism, and his "advanced" pastoral methods, the Holy Office withdrew the book from publication.

Don Milani's activities kept him banished in the mountain village of Barbiana for all of his career. It was in 1965 that he again emerged into the public light and into open controversy. In answer to a resolution passed by a convention of military chaplains condemning conscientious objection, Don



WHY IT COULD HAPPEN IN AMERICA

GOVERNING WITHOUT CONSENSUS: AN IRISH PERSPECTIVE

IN THE FIRST MAJOR BOOK-LENGTH ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT CRISIS IN NORTHERN IRELAND (**GOVERNING WITHOUT CONSENSUS,** $12.50), RICHARD ROSE DRAWS DISTURBING PARALLELS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS DIVISIONS IN IRELAND AND RACIAL BITTERNESS IN AMERICA. USING OVER A THOUSAND DEPTH INTERVIEWS WITH BOTH PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS, ROSE UNDERLINES HOW SEVERELY THE IRISH DISORDERS TEST THE BASIC ASSUMPTIONS OF DEMOCRACY — AND OFFERS 13 PROVOCATIVE SUGGESTIONS FOR IRISH LEADERS.

. . . IN DECEMBER, BEACON PRESS WILL OFFER A SECOND HIGHLY-RELEVANT VOLUME ON DISORDER-IN-CONTEMPORARY-DEMOCRACY. **THE FRENCH STUDENT UPRISING** ($17.50) IS AN EXTENSIVE COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS, POSTERS AND OTHER BASIC STATEMENTS FROM THE TUMULT OF 1967-68, EDITED BY ALAIN SCHNAPP AND PIERRE VIDAL-NAQUET . . . GET THEM BOTH AT YOUR BOOKSTORE OR BY SENDING YOUR CHECK DIRECTLY TO:

BEACON PRESS

25 BEACON STREET, BOSTON, MA 02108

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Milani wrote an open letter defending conscientious objection and further added that every war Italy had entered since the *Risorgimento* had been unjust and unchristian. A group of veterans denounced Don Milani to the courts, accusing him of slandering the Italian people. They asked for legal condemnation of the article and punitive action against the priest and his publisher, the editor of *Rinascita*. A lower court dismissed the charge, but the court of appeal reversed the decision and condemned the open letter by a decree dated October 22, 1968. It was a hollow gesture, for Don Milani had died the previous year at the age of forty-four.

Last year the posthumous letters of Don Milani were published by Mondadori and the book proved to be somewhat of a literary happening. Two printings were sold within six weeks; his letters were being read by student activists at protest meetings; they became staples as introductory readings at avant-garde liturgies; and a theater group at Prato staged them in the form of a dramatic reading *cum* light show.

This is all very curious since Don Milani, at least judging from his letters, is no priest radical *à la* the Berrigan brothers. In the first place, there is no poetry in his writing, no symbolic action in his deeds. He was very much a loner, who stayed in the mountains and launched his message with directness and rigidity: "Social injustice is not evil for me as a priest because it hurts the poor but because it is a sin that offends God and hinders His Kingdom. It is wealth, not poverty, that is an offense against God."

Furthermore Don Milani seems to have been almost totally untouched by post-conciliar theology or social philosophy. The books that he mentions in his letters are all the old standard works he read in his seminary days—Prat, Lebreton, Mauriac, etc. In his open letter on conscientious objection the main arguments he marshals are from the catechism of the Council of Trent on the concept of just war. His whole religious vision, as the Florentine theologian (and close friend of Milani's) Ernesto Balducci points out, is rigorously moralistic and individualistic: "Religion for me consists in obeying the Ten Commandments and getting to confession fast when they are not observed. All the rest is either mere trappings or pertaining to a level that holds nothing for me and certainly doesn't help the poor!"

Perhaps it is the very unfashionableness of Milani that is the secret of his vast appeal, especially among the young. He cannot be labeled and he refused to be associated with any party. He was simply a mountain priest, who took his version of Christianity with complete seriousness, and applied it with unflinching rigor and interior consistency. He was a man of integrity—and that is a precious commodity.

Don Luca Asprea and Don Lorenzo Milani are both Italian priests. But when one looks at their self-revelations they seem to be cultures apart. If that simple fact gives lie to the easy stereotype, it also gives hope that there are, in fact, multiple mansions in the Italian Household of God.

The Reconstruction of Religious Faith
"Future Structures of Belief"
EUGENE FONTINELL
"Historical Development and Understanding Faith"
HOWARD KURKOVSKY
"Transmission of Faith in a Revolutionary Age"
ROBERT NEVILLE
"Black Experience and Revitalized Faith"
LAWRENCE E. LUCAS
Tues., Oct. 19, 3:30 P.M.
Wed.. Oct. 20, 2 P.M.
Atonement Friars, Garrison, N.Y.
Registration, $15
Rooms and meals available
Write: Ecumenical Institute
Graymoor, Garrison, N.Y. 10524
or Phone: 914-GA4-3209

FOR THE FALL TERM

CLASSROOM ORDERS, 10 or more copies for any number of weeks to one address, 20¢ a copy. Free copy added for instructor or distributor on request.

INDIVIDUAL STUDENT subscriptions: one year, $8; eight months $6; six months, $4.

CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT, Commonweal, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

The Perverted Priorities of American Politics

DUANE LOCKARD

Macmillan, $6.95

WILSON CAREY McWILLIAMS

Reading a texbook in American politics was once an exercise in boredom. Formal institutions were discussed in massively inconsequential detail and the world of politics was almost ignored. For the last decade or so, however, ennui has been succeeded by mystic faith. Political scientists have patiently explained to bemused students that every apparent failure or horror in American politics is "functional" (and implicitly or explicitly, beneficial) for the "system" of pluralist democracy. It was and is a fatuous analysis, but many young "radicals" have accepted it as a description of the real world; they have simply stood the doctrine on its head. The "system" remains perfectly rational, but it is malevolent rather than benign.

Duane Lockard has written a textbook, but one which comes to terms with reality in a way its predecessors have not. Nor should the fact that it is a text limit its appeal to general readers. In one way or another, we have all suffered from the failures of political science, and Lockard's book may contribute to our re-education in political life.

Lockard's general thesis is that the "priorities" of politics are "perverted" because American politics and institutions are biased against all "have-nots." The whole apparatus of Constitutional machinery is designed to fragment power, to "check and balance" interests in such a way as to protect the rights of minorities at any cost. But, of course, the "protection" extends only to what a group has now; those who seek to escape or change their current status are inherently at a disadvantage.

A coherent majority can, nonetheless, force measures through the Constitutional apparatus. Yet, Lockard points out, the excluded and neglected suffer from political disadvantages no less severe. They are often "invisible," as

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michael Harrington demonstrated long ago; they are widely dispersed and find organization difficult for a variety of reasons. Many groups and interests may have some interest in change and some opposition to established elites—a fact which has been the central argument of pluralist theory—but, Lockard notes, this only makes matters worse. Coordination of policies is hard and competition is far more likely; concerned to get some immediate result, each group makes a "deal" for its own at the expense of other claimants. And in the long term, all suffer. Established elites are far more coherent. They do not need mass allegiance; they do not have to transact business in public; especially, they do not need to give public demonstrations of the intensity of their commitment as unions and racial minorities must do.

Lockard is arguing, in other words, that both "elitists" and "pluralists" in social science are partly correct, but that the "correct" side of pluralism actually reinforces elite theory. He never, however, falls into the error, which the elites would never make themselves, of supposing that the "powers that be" are all-powerful.

Politics matters for Lockard precisely because changes in law and institutions can affect the distribution of resources and power. Often, of course, those changes work for established power. The direct primary, for example, reinforces the power of wealth in American politics; tax laws serve the same end; in my own view, the abolition of the electoral college, the latest liberal fashion, would serve the same purpose. But legal and institutional change can also give previously excluded groups new access to avenues of power. It can, in fact, *create* such groups. The labor movement in the United States, for example, was not built on its own resources. Without the N.R.A., the Norris-LaGuardia and Wagner Acts and similar legislation, the growth of unions in the '30s would have been impossible. And without the court decisions and political changes that gave black Americans a tiny margin of legal protection and political security, the civil rights movement might have been indefinitely delayed.

All of this suggests one of the finest qualities of Lockard's book. It has passion, anger and anxiety for the future of America. But Lockard demonstrates that such qualities can be combined with what is best in academic life—scholarship, concern for evidence, and devotion to fairness and justice.

The only unfortunate aspect of the book is Lockard's discussion of foreign policy. It begins as a presentation of the extent to which the "war power" has become a prerogative of the Presidency, undermining traditional Constitutional theory, and as such is impeccable. But Lockard goes on to embrace a number of fashionable "theories" of American foreign policy, like the doctrine of the "new imperialism." The discussion of such issues, as compared with the rest of the book, is simple-minded. Lockard seems to equate Chinese intervention into the Korean War, for example, with the Inchon landing, apparently oblivious of the fact that Inchon is in South Korea. And when he discusses Richard Falk's advocacy of a "transnational consciousness," he does not observe that most of his analysis suggests that we still lack a national consciousness—that political fragmentation, withdrawal and isolation seem the logic of the greater part of American political life.

These are, however, relatively minor faults; criticism may even be caviling. Lockard has made a major contribution to political education, to what will hopefully be a retraining of Americans in political life. Without new understanding, political action will be no better and no more frequent than in the past; without better political life and action, we will gain no new political feelings and loyalities; without new sentiments of political commitment, we face a disaster. A policy whose priorities are "perverted" can hope for nothing else.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

REVIEWERS

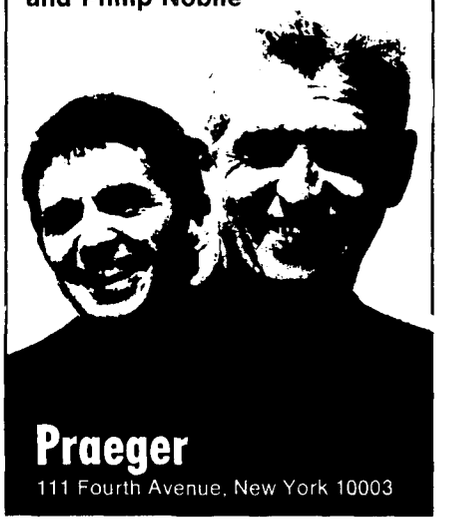
WILSON CAREY MCWILLIAMS teaches political science at Rutgers.

SETH GOLDSTEIN, a former *Business Week* editor, is a student of urban affairs.

The Berrigans: Prophets or public nuisances?

In his foreword to this book, William Van Etten Casey, S.J. writes, "Since Dan and Phil were articulate activists and charismatic leaders who aroused contradictory emotions and generated passionate controversy, I felt that we had to begin the search for answers to the problems they posed for us." Here are those answers in this full-scale examination—both the pros and cons—of the impact of the Berrigans. It includes articles by Noam Chomsky, Robert McAfee Brown, Francine du Plessix Gray, and others that first appeared in the historic issue of the *Holy Cross Quarterly*, as well as new writings by Robert Coles, Gordon Zahn, and Paul Cowan. "A timely, trenchant, and perhaps prophetic book."
—*Publishers' Weekly* $6.95

THE BERRIGANS
edited by William Van Etten Casey, S.J. and Philip Nobile



Praeger
111 Fourth Avenue, New York 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Columbia and the New Cities

GURNEY BRECKENFELD
Ives Washburn, $8.95

SETH GOLDSTEIN

Remedies for our housing crisis are like the "roadrunner" of the cartoon series. Just when you think you've got the creature trapped in your grasp, the damn thing slips away and your contrivance blows up in your face. Except that cartoons are meant to be funny; the elusiveness of a solution to where people should live borders on the tragic. If you have to be convinced, read the literature of urban renewal.

A rational approach to housing—one in which people are on a par with costs per square foot—has always been the ostensible purpose for government and private planning. But somehow the choice is rarely more appealing than the barracks mentality of government-sponsored projects or the ticky-tack of suburban tract developers. "Columbia and the New Cities" by Gurney Breckenfeld, an associate editor of *Time*, points to another way out, decidedly more enlightened than bureaucratic, more in sympathy with what people actually want, and one, blessedly, that has already been proven in Great Britain, Scandinavia, and even the United States. Breckenfeld opens by describing the concept and growth of the "new cities" precedent here and abroad, in this country concentrating on efforts in the private sector. This is prelude to an analysis of Columbia, Maryland, a new city perched between Washington and Baltimore, which takes up the last half of the book. To Breckenfeld, Columbia matches the very best the British have to offer, and his description of the city and its developer, James Rouse, is well nigh reverential.

One can admire the book for its hard-nosed approach to a subject where only visionaries once trod and one can appreciate the importance of dedicated men like Rouse to new cities. But the question remains: Isn't Columbia more the result of good luck, some of it outrageous, and less the archtype for the rest of the country? Breckenfeld marvels at the intricacies of amassing the 18,000 acres that comprise Columbia. One false step, one leak to a real estate agent or landowner in rural Howard County would have swept prices out of Rouse's reach. Exactly. The odds would appear heavily against other developers repeating Rouse's cloak-and-dagger maneuvering, and instead of sensible land assembly, they would be faced with the checkerboard pattern that despoils many housing developments. Without the guile of a master developer—Rouse is an old hand at shopping centers—Breckenfeld makes it clear Columbia would not have succeeded. Yet that attribute exploited by a less reputable developer is one reason for the often stiff-necked opposition to housing developments of any kind.

Breckenfeld acknowledges the difficulties of private industry's duplicating Columbia, but he feels anything is better than government-ordained projects. For much of his argument, Breckenfeld is on solid ground. He presents a thoughtful, perceptive critique of Britain's oft-lauded new cities, not least because he apparently has visited most of them. What has marred the British experiences since World War II, a period when nearly three dozen new cities were built, has been bureaucratic waffling that has made a commonsensical approach to land usage difficult. The United States stands a chance, in Breckenfeld's view, only if developers like Rouse and, better still, big business, understand the profits attainable from orderly, well-conceived, and (where possible) imaginative planning.

But from the vantage point of the boardroom, new cities have about as much profit potential as pollution control. Gulf Oil Corporation was only rescuing an investment when it bailed out Reston, a highly publicized new city foundering on expensive (because imaginative) planning and architecture. There is no indication Gulf will do much more than homogenize the architecture, cut expenses, and get its money out as quickly as possible. This last could be decades in coming. Rouse must continue his obsession with Columbia if he is to wait out the fifteen years before a profit shows. What corporation can stand to do the same? A few perhaps, but among those that have tried, even relatively minor projects can be rushed into failure. Rouse took years to explain Columbia to its neighbors. Boise-Cascade Corporation decided to forego these time-consuming consultations, with residents of a rural New York State community whose surroundings were to be transformed into a "planned" vacation community. The development was fought and defeated, becoming one of several Boise-Cascade recreation communities in limbo.

Enlightened developers are only a slightly better bet, if judging by Breckenfeld's evidence. Instead of Jim Rouse, consider oilman-manufacturer Robert McCulloch of Lake Havasu City, Arizona, which is distinguished for a man-made lake of great beauty and the purchase and reconstruction of London Bridge. Breckenfeld places McCulloch just below Rouse in his pantheon of

Classified

Children in Need

• A CARMELITE CONVENT in Northeast India is appealing for help for the poor children for whom it provides books, medicines, clothes, free board and lodging. The mud houses of many local families were destroyed by the recent monsoon rains, leaving them homeless. Readers should send donations to: Sister M. Emerita, Carmel Convent, Madhupur, (S.P.) Bihar, India. (Airmail: 21¢.)

Agents Wanted

• CHRISTMAS CARDS—for use by families, individuals and business firms. Personalized—your customer's name printed on the cards. Fellow church members are only one category of excellent prospects. Thousands have made steady money from Process cards during our 50 years in business. Many have been with us 10, 20 years or more. Enjoy the selling advantages of our Golden Anniversary collection. Beat inflation and earn unusually high commissions from this medium- and high-priced line. Customer satisfaction 100% guaranteed. No investment. No inventory. Free Sample Album. Best selling time starts right now. The Process Corporation, 3454 S. 54th Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60650.

Classified Rates

Per word (single insertion) 50c
Per word, 3 times 48c
Per word, 7 times 45c
Per word, 13 times 42c

Twelve words minimum.

For box numbers at Commonweal add 50c per insertion.

Classified payable with order, monthly in advance for more than 3 times.

Commonweal
232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

developers, but take away the spectacular locale, and Lake Havasu City has little else that's distinctive. Architecturally it is routine, and the planning effort seems to have been limited to ensuring as many residents as possible a view of the lake.

Lake Havasu City does have industry, though—McCulloch's own and the reason he first chose the site—and it will provide the community with an economic base that every new city will need to survive. Industry, preferably light, but numerous, is mandated by the dictates of geography: Untouched acreage for new city populations within reasonable commuting distance of our metropolitan centers is fast vanishing.

Brekenfeld would sooner forsake urban and suburban life altogether. His description of Rouse's hometown of Easton, Maryland, gives it the virtues of Wilder's *Our Town*. All well and good as far as it goes, but Breckenfeld comes across as unreservedly anti-urban, even though the plight of the old cities is at least as important as development of new ones. The emphasis of the book allows no discussion of renewed urban centers. Israeli architect Moshe Safdie, whose stacks of concrete apartment modules were the high point of Expo 67, makes no appearance, even though his approach is a serious attempt to take advantage of assembly line production techniques. Neither is there mention of Thamesmead, London's city-within-a-city, which is at least a partially realized example of factory-built housing on a grand scale. It will take myriad such efforts before the housing shortage can be pronounced cured. Rouse is vital to the cure, but only if his efforts spawn a generation of activist protégés. Until then, "Columbia and the New Cities" scarcely brightens a depressing picture.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 491)

ism, the editors follow him in misapprehending the book's purpose [Editorial, Aug. 20]. It is not an attempt to give a comprehensive explanation of the whole Church but rather the problems of the reformers themselves.

Since by now any minimally informed person can catalogue the failings of the hierarchy even in his sleep, I see no reason to go over that ground again. What my book attempts to explain is why change has so often proved disappointing even when implemented, why reformers who get what they want are often more unhappy than before (why, for example, religious communities which change most drastically often have the highest dropout rates and the fewest recruits).

It is surely permissible to criticize theories and theorists whether or not they influence those in power. My book is essentially an analysis of ideas, not of institutions, and ideas are necessarily found in books and journals.

It is heartening to know that *Commonweal* rejects "devil theories" and "one-dimensionalism." It would be even more heartening if, in the same editorial, we were not told for perhaps the 500th time that it is really those bad old men in Rome who are the cause of all our troubles.

Most astonishing is the fact that the editors are so grateful to Garry Wills for having gotten them off the hook that they accept his low assessment of their own work. Either *Commonweal* exists to influence public opinion or it doesn't. If its influence is negligible, why all the recent agony over the "continuation fund," why not let it pass away quietly? If it does have influence the editors cannot so easily evade responsibility for the present state of the Church. JAMES HITCHCOCK

Failed Aggiornamento

Warwick, N. Y.

To the Editors: For the last few months "Aggiornamento has Failed" [James Hitchcock, May 14] lies on top of my re-read pile. Meanwhile the sentence revolves in my mind.

Alas it must be admitted: it has failed.

As one who attended all sessions of the Council I remember all too painfully, too vividly the immense moral authority of the papacy in those days, the hope for a regeneration of a religious attitude to life, far transcending the Catholic Church. A hope that seemed justified, for inspiration radiated from Pope John's Rome, once more the Axis Mundi . . . "It is only dawn!" Angelo Roncalli cried out as he opened the Council.

Now Rome has once more become merely the capital of Italy, the administrative seat of a sect, the locale of the bickering, the manipulations, the intrigues of robed executives.

Good Lord, has Aggiornamento failed! How quickly dusk follows dawn!

FREDERICK FRANCK

Now in Paperback

JOHN L. McKENZIE
Authority in the Church

A sweeping investigation into the concept of Church authority based on analyses of New Testament texts.
An Image Book, $1.25

DOUBLEDAY

A Religious Pacifist Looks at Abortion

GORDON C. ZAHN's article from the May 28 COMMONWEAL has again been reprinted to meet continuing demand. *Prices postpaid:*

1-9 copies, 25c per copy
10-99 copies, 10c per copy
100-499 copies, 8c per copy
500 or more, 6c per copy

Write or phone:

COMMONWEAL
232 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10016
212-MU 3-2042

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Index to Volume XCIV

March 12, 1971 to September 24, 1971

Articles and Poetry

Armbruster, Carl J. and John J. Begley .. The Permanent Diaconate II: The Hidden Thorns 60
Balasuriya, Tissa ..... Insurrection in Ceylon 300
Barthelmes, Wes ..... Infallibility Beyond Polemics 103
Begley, John J. and Carl J. Armbruster .. The Permanent Diaconate II: The Hidden Thorns 60
Berube, Maurice R. ..... The Defeat of the Great Black Hope 54
Beum, Robert ..... The Sources: A Poem 112
Bode, Carl ..... The Friday Fence: A Poem 330
Boylan, Edward S. ..... Is the ABM Moral? 303
Braybrooke, Neville .. Vocation in the Desert: Lawrence of Arabia and Charles de Foucauld 88
Bright, John ..... Southern-Side Up 76
Burns, Richard ..... Classroom Exercise: A Poem 135
Castelli, Jim ..... Will Health Beat Nixon in '72? 108
The Year of the Prisons 494
Childers, Joanne .....The Welfare Lady: A Poem 306
Cleary, William H. ..... Instant Church 426
Cooke, Terence Cardinal ..... Abortion Pastoral: Variations on a Theme 229
Cox, Harvey ..... The Ungodly City 351
Cronin, Sean ..... Everyone But the Terrorists 470
Cunningham, Lawrence ..... The Red and the Black: Two Italian Priests 502
De Muth, Jerry ..... Some Hate, Some Hope 84
Daly, Mary ..... After the Death of God the Father 7
Echlin, Edward P. ..... Crisis in Preaching 423
Egan, John J. ..... Priest Power in Baltimore 101
Fandel, John ..... Invitation: A Poem 481
Finn, James ..... Reinhold Niebuhr 324
Fishkin, Jim & Ian Robertson ..... Ghettoizing Culture in South Africa 156
Freiberg, Peter ..... Situation Ethnics 81
Gallagher, Michael ..... Impossible Beauty 36
Garrigue, Jean ..... The Giralda: A Poem 383
Gibbons, Russell W. ... Eggheads under the Hard Hats? 4
Hardhats, Hyacinths and Returnable Bottles 324
Steel: The Thaw Before the Freeze 444
Gitlin, Todd ..... The Return of Political Poetry 375
Ellsberg and the New Heroism 447
Graves, Elizabeth Minot .....Children's Books: Highlights of the Spring 263
A Selected List of Children's Books 266
Greene, Graham ..... On Becoming a Catholic 451
Griffin, Richard B. ..... Our Catholic 'Enemies' 402
A Sexual Revolution, Would You Believe? 180
Grumbach, Doris ..... The Greening of the Laity 372
Hale, Dennis ... How Reformers Bombed in New Haven 473
Halloran, Richard T. ..... The Politics of Suicide 34
Hillenbrand, Barry ... The Strangulation of Fresno State 136
Hitchcock, James ..... Aggiornamento Has Failed 231
Isbell, Harold ..... For David, Going to Bed: A Poem 89
Jerez, Francisco ..... Before the Revolution: How Sweet It Was 469
Jullien, Claude-Francois .... Christianity with a Human Face: An Interview with Hans Kung 106
Kennedy, Eugene C. ..... The Neglected Prophecy of James Kavanaugh 287
King, Lawrence T. .... Governor Reagan's Private War 358
Kuehl, Linda ... Dazzle-Dust: A Wolfe in Chic Clothing 212
An Interview with Yambo Ouologuem 311
Kung, Hans ..... A Reply to Gregory Baum 326
Kuttner, Robert ..... The Rebel Republican 380
Chile Is Not Cuba—Or Is It? 405
Lanning, Robert ..... Amphibian: A Poem 144
Lecky, Robert S. ..... Clergy and Laymen: Broadening the Concern 468
Lewis, Thomas ..... Reflections from the Pig Farm 499
Lilly, Othelia ..... Everywoman after Every War: A Poem 87
McBrien, Richard P. ..... Whatever Happened to Theology? 129
McFerran, Douglass ..... The New Magic 477
McKenzie, John L. ..... The Demythologizing of Louis Evely 307
McWilliams, Wilson Carey ..... The Path to Peking 397
MacEoin, Gary, ... Latin America: Who Is to Blame? 331
Colonnese Go Home 492
Meade, Marion ..... The Politics of Day Care 133
Mestrovic, Matthew M. ..... Balkanization in Titoland 252
Murphy, Sr. Ellen ..... Fireflies: A Poem for William of Ghana 87
Nebolsine, Arcadi ..... The Death of an Artist: John Rudge 167
Needleman, Jacob ..... Winds from the East 188
Norwood, Christopher .... The Southern Stamp Liturgy 455
Novak, Michael ..... Let a Million Voters Bloom 79
The Battle Hymn of Lt. Calley ..... and the Republic 183
The ABCs of ABM 31
Vietnam Roulette 236
Patterson, Jack ..... The Wall of Zoning 283
Pilkington, Betty ..... Whatever Became of Quiet Diplomacy? 53
Mainland China at the UN Door 420
Rabb, Charles ..... Sniffing Out the Super-Snoopers 126
Mr. Buckley Goes to Washington 181
Roman Collar in the House 276
Ranly, Ernest W. ..... What Are People For? 207
Remak, Joachim ..... 'Law and Order,' said Hitler ... Or Did He? 429
Richard, J. F. ..... Let George Do It? 11
Robertson, Ian & Jim Fishkin ..... Ghettoizing Culture in South Africa 156
Shockley, Donald G. ..... Reforming Prison Reform 497
Silver, Isidore ..... Secrets and Security 399
Sloyan, Gerard S. ..... The Permanent Diaconate I: A New Servant Class? 56
Steinfels, Peter ..... Orwellians Left and Right 6
Of Budgets & Media 30
The Catch 22 of World Poverty 302
The Press, President & Pentagon 78
Calley and the Public Conscience 128
Why I Went to Jail 158
Researching the Parables 230
The Cooling of the Intellectuals 255
Notes on the Pentagon Papers 350
Jackson and the Big Lie 446
Rosapepe, James C. .....Statement in Black and White 421
Sullivan, James .....Paean (In the Old Style): A Poem 168
Ten Kortenaar, Henry ..... The Synod of Small Expectations 28
Trying to Undo the Council 348
Thibodeau, Ralph.....Stravinsky's Sacred Music 371
Tracy, Phil .....Watch Out, Uncle Sam Is Angry 472
Walker, Biron ..... No Easy Reach: A Poem 40
Wallace, Weldon ..... Backlash and the Bishops 253
Weiss-Rosmarin, Trude....Is God 'She'? And So What? 374
Woodrow, Alain .....Clerical Confusion in Geneva 277
Zahn, Gordon C. ..... A Religious Pacifist Looks at Abortion 279

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Book Reviews

A Separate Reality: By Carlos Casteneda..Joseph Grange 482
A Time for Love: By Eugene C. Kennedy
Albert L. Schlitzer 69
Aesthetics of Pornography, The: By Peter Michelson
John P. Sisk 240
Amen: The Diary of Rabbi Martin Siegel: Edit. Mel Zeigler .....Arthur A. Cohen 364
American Education: The Colonial Experience: 1607-1783: By Lawrence A. Cremin ..... John Demos 145
Anarchist Cookbook, The: By William Powell
Emile Capouya 16
Angelica, The: By May Dikeman....Rosemary F. Deen 387
Autobiography of a Schizophrenic Girl, The: By Marguerite Sechehaye .....Barbara Lawrence 435
Being There: By Jerzy Kosinski.....Martin Tucker 221
Belloc: A Biographical Anthology: Edit. Herbert Van Thal .....Maisie Ward 67
Bellocq, E. J.: Storeyville Portraits: By Lee Friedlander & John Szarkowski .....Stu Cohen 409
Birds of America: By Mary McCarthy....Foster Hirsch 459
Blaming the Victim: By William Ryan
Maurice R. Berube 117
Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago: By Mike Royko
Ralph Whitehead, Jr. 169
Briefing for a Descent into Hell: By Doris Lessing
Jeffrey Meyers 220
Catholic Radicals in Brazil: By Emanuel de Kadt
Virginia Freehafer 389
Church as Moral Decision Maker, The: By James M. Gustafson .....Charles E. Curran 43
Columbia and the New Cities: By Gurney Breckenfeld
Seth Goldstein 506
Confessions of a Cultist: By Andrew Sarris
Foster Hirsch 172
Conscience and Command: Edit. James Finn
Wilson Carey McWilliams 289
Crime in America: By Ramsey Clark.....Isidore Silver 41
Crow: By Ted Hughes.....Barry Wallenstein 483
Daley of Chicago: By Bill Gleason
Ralph Whitehead, Jr. 169
Dance the Eagle to Sleep: By Marge Piercy
Linda Kuehl 92
Decision to Go to the Moon, The: By John M. Logsdon
Raymond A. Schroth 216
Design for Religion: Toward Ecumenical Education: By Gabriel Moran .....Gerard S. Sloyan 146
Dialectic of Sex, The: The Case for Feminist Revolution: By Shulamith Firestone.....Kathy Mulherin 90
Dickens the Novelist: By F. R. Leavis & Q. D. Leavis
Brian Wicker 337
Dimensions of Job, The: Edit. Nahum Glatzer
Jack Riemer 19
Don't Shoot—We Are Your Children!: By J. Anthony Lukas .....Willard Gaylin 410
Erasmus: By George Faludy .....John Ratté 192
Face of North Vietnam: By Marc Riboud....Stu Cohen 196
Five Variations on the Theme of Japanese Painting: By Leo Bronstein .....Pamela Ritterman 116
Freakshow: By Albert Goldman.....Richard Elman 388
God in the Dock: By C. S. Lewis.....T. Patrick Burke 94
God's First Love: By Friedrich Heer..Arthur A. Cohen 218
Governor, The: By Edward R. F. Sheehan
William V. Shannon 21
Green Pope, The: By Miguel Angel Asturias
Ronald Christ 197
Imperial Tragedy: By Thomas M. Coffey
Richard Halloran 149
Italian Americans: By Joseph Lopreato
Joseph A. Scimecca 436
Jesus and Israel: By Jules Isaac.....Gregory Baum 314
Letters: By Thomas Mann.....Jeffrey Meyers 113
Lion Country: By Frederick Buechner
Rosemary F. Deen 387
Luther: His Life and Times: By Richard Friedenthal
Moral Rules, The: By Bernard Gert
James M. Gustafson 434
John Ratté 192
MF: By Anthony Burgess.....Ralph McInerny 290
Miracle at Joaseiro: By Ralph della Cava
Virginia Freehafer 389
Nazi Olympics, The: By Richard D. Mandell
George N. Shuster 291
New Jesuits, The: By George Reimer
John L'Heureaux 174
New Religion, The: By Jacob Needleman
Michael Zeik 386
New Testament Disunity: By John Charlot
George MacRae 243
Nixon Agonistes: By Garry Wills
Wilson Carey McWilliams 194
Of A Fire on the Moon: By Norman Mailer
Raymond A. Schroth 216
On Being Told That Her Second Husband Has Taken His First Lover and Other Stories: By Tess Slesinger
Gerald Weales
Our Land Too: By Tony Dunbar....James Branscome 460
Pagan Rabbi and Other Stories, The: By Cynthia Ozick
Arthur A. Cohen 461
Pastoral Psychology: By Carlo Anthony Weber
Albert L. Schlitzer 69
Patriarchal Attitudes: By Eva Figes....Kathy Mulherin 90
Perverted Priorities of American Politics, The: By Duane Lockard ..... Wilson Carey McWilliams 504
Politics of Authenticity, The: By Marshall Berman
Leonard Kriegel 362
Power to Be Human, The: By Charles C. West
T. Patrick Burke 458
Psalms of Struggle: By Ernesto Cardenal...Jack Riemer 484
Quattlebaum's Truth: By Mark Gross..Eugene Fontinell 195
Religion of the Republic, The: Edit. Elwyn A. Smith
George H. Frein 412
Revolutionary Priest: The Complete Writings and Messages of Camilo Torres: Edited with an Introduction by John Gerassi.....James Finn 456
Richard Eberhardt: By Joel Roach.....Brigid Elson 242
Rising Sun, The: By John Toland.....Richard Halloran 149
Roman Catholic Modernism: By Bernard M. G. Reardon
Maryellen Muckenhirn 316
Sisterhood Is Powerful: Edit. Robin Morgan
Kathy Mulherin 90
Soledad Brother: The Prison Letters of George Jackson
Donald G. Shockley 65
There Are Men Too Gentle to Live among Wolves: By James Kavanaugh .....Eugene C. Kennedy 287
To the Victor....: Political Patronage from the Clubhouse to the White House: By Martin and Susan Tolchin .....Ralph Whitehead, Jr. 432
Urban Leadership in the Sixties: By James Cunningham
Ralph Whitehead, Jr. 169
Voices of the New Feminism: Edit. Mary Lou Thompson .....Kathy Mulherin 90
White Niggers of America: By Pierre Vallieres
Maurice R. Berube 339
Whose Heaven, Whose Earth: By Thomas & Marjorie Melville .....James Finn 456
Women's Liberation and the Church: Edit. Sarah Bentley Doely .....Sally Cunneen 114

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

Subscribers: Allow 3-4 weeks for your change of address. Please send label with your old address from a recent issue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ABM, 31, 303
Abortion, 229, 279, 395
Aggiornamento, failure of, 228, 231, 299, 323
Agnew, Spiro, 26
Ali, Muhammad, 54, 199
Allende, 405
American Battle Monuments Commission, 466
American Empire, 159
Army surveillance, 126
Apartheid, 154, 156, 396
Apostolic letter, 299
Atkinson, Ti-Grace, 74
Baroni, Msgr. Geno, 81
Berrigan, Daniel, 50, 298, 442
Berrigan, Philip, 50, 442, 467, 495
Binsse, Harry Lorin, 300
Bishops' meeting, 155, 251, 253
Black theology, 125
Bluecollar workers, 4, 81
Bolivia, 469
Bonilla, Bishop Antulio Parilla, 98
Boston strangler, 204
Brazil, 50
Buckley, Senator James L., 181
Cairo, Illinois, 98, 119
Calley, Lt., 128, 154, 155, 183, 186, 226, 294
Campaign spending, 126, 346
Catholic church,
and abortion, 229, 279, 395
and communications, 323
and education, 125, 154, 394
and peace, 2, 50, 52, 274, 298, 346
and sex, 180
underground church, 426
and Vietnam, 124
in North Vietnam, 402
Catholic Left, 456, 466, 472
Catholic Messenger, 2
Catholic Peace Fellowship, 346
Catholic press, 2, 124
Catholic University, 74
Ceylon, 300
Children's books, 263, 365
Chile, 405
China, Nixon trip to, 395, 397, 420
Chisholm, Rep. Shirley, 179
City, the, 351
Clay, Cassius, 54, 199
Clergy and Laymen Concerned, 468
Clergy resignations, 26
Colonnese, Louis M., 492
Columbia Broadcasting System, 3, 28, 306
Commentary, 204, 255, 365
Con Son, 74
Constitutional rights, 126
Daley, Richard, 226
Day care, 133
Diaconate, the, 56, 60, 227
Disarmament, 31, 274, 303
Dow Chemical, 274
Dozier, Bishop Carroll T., 394
Draft, the, 52, 236
Drinan, Rep. Robert F., 276
Earth Day, 27
Eastern religions, 188, 347
Ecology, 27, 134, 324
Ellsberg, Daniel, 447
Ellul, Jacques, 351
Ethnics, 4, 81, 199

commonweal

Best Editorial, 1970

Commonweal *for its January 30 editorial, "Reforming the News Media," places first in this category. The editorial is one of the most "prescient, pertinent and downright pieces of writing" which the judges have read on this subject. . . . The* Commonweal *editorial is a fine example of what freedom of speech must mean, in a free and strong democracy.*

—Citation, Catholic Press Association, 5/71

Article Award

Commonweal placed second for its "Generation Without Fathers," by Henry Nouwen, an article which is subtitled 'Christian Leadership of Tomorrow.' The fatherless generation is the current generation who have divorced themselves from their parents' standards, turned down their fathers' values and turned inward—into themselves—for other answers. This article suggests methods of taking advantage of youths' 'inwardness' to keep them from becoming selfish and guide them into finding the qualities which will permit them to function as Christian adults. "A very good piece," the judges found, which offers today's youth "a method of functioning in tomorrow's world—not as monk or priest—but as a Christian."

17 Issues for $3

For New Subscribers Only

9-24-71

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016

Please send the next 17 issues to:

Name .....

Address .....

City, State, Zip .....

Return Coupon for a Trial Subscription

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evely, Louis, 307, 370
Foreign aid, 227
Foucauld, Charles de, 88
Fresno State, 136
Fundamental Law, 29, 348
Genetic engineering, 179
Genocide, 178
God the Father, and women, 7, 99, 374, 467, 486
Goldwater, Senator Barry, 250
Greene, Graham, 451
Gumbleton, Bishop Thomas, 2, 75, 155
Hard hats, 4, 199, 324
Hitchcock, James, 228, 231, 299, 419
Hitler, Adolph, 429
Homosexuals, 371
Hong Kong, Catholics in, 23
Hope, Bob, 98
Housing, 421
Indians, American, 124
Infallibility, 51, 179, 293, 295, 326
Intellectuals, 255
Ireland, 162, 470
Israel, 50, 53
Jackson, Henry M., 446
Japan, 34, 394
Judas, ex-priest as, 251, 347
Kavanaugh, James, 287
Kazantzakis, Nikos, 155
Kelly, Bishop Bernard M., 2
Kunstler, William, 2
Labor, 444
Laos, 3, 154, 250, 298
Latin America, 331, 346, 405
Latin Mass, 466
Lawrence of Arabia, 88
Lead poisoning, 371
Leavis, F. R., 415
Lewisburg Prison, 499
McAllister, Sister Elizabeth, 3
McCloskey, Rep., 380
McGovern, Senator George, 11, 179
Magic, 477
Mayday demonstrators, 298
Mishima, Yukio, 34
Mitrione, Dan A., 466
Moynihan, Daniel, 78
Mylai, 128, 155, 183, 186, 226
Nat'l. Assn. of Laity, 372
Negroes in U.S., 71, 75, 84
Neo-isolationism, 51
New Haven, Conn., 473
Newsweek, 30
New voters, 79, 205
N.Y. Review of Books, 255, 365
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 324
Nixon, Richard
and campaign spending 126
and China, 395, 397
and foreign aid, 227
and the media, 74, 78
and military spending, 124
and new economic policy 443, 444
and new voters, 79
and protectionism, 75
and Quakers, 178
North Vietnam, church in, 402
Northern Ireland, 162
Notre Dame U., 490
Novak, Michael, 490
Nuclear disarmament, 31, 274, 303
Nuclear power, 226
Oil, in Vietnam, 274
O'Keefe, Bishop Gerald F., 2, 199
Operation Phoenix, 396
Orwellians, Left and Right, 6
Oscar, movie, 139
Pacifism, and abortion, 279, 395
Paraguay, 98, 204
Parables, researching the, 230
Parochial schools, 125, 154, 394
Pentagon papers, 347, 350, 399, 447
Podhoretz, Norman, 204, 255, 365
Political poetry, 375
Pornography, 178
Postage stamps, 455
Postal rates, 322
Poverty, in the world, 302, 331
Preaching, 423
Priestly formation, 125
Priesthood, study of, 205, 277
Prison Reform, 497
Prisons, 75, 467, 494 ff.
Protectionism, 75
Protests, 158
Racism, 71, 75, 84
Radical Catholicism, 228, 231
Reagan, Gov. Ronald, 358
Rice, Msgr. Charles O., 26
Rudge, John, 167
Sacred music, 384
"Selling of the Pentagon, The," 3, 28, 78, 206, 396
Seminaries, 125
Senate, the U.S., 76
Sexual revolution, the, 180
South Africa, 154, 156, 396
Stravinsky, Igor, 384
Stringfellow, William, 2
Supreme Court, 394
Synod, bishops', 28, 199, 205, 277, 420
Tariffs, 75
Theology today, 129
Time, 30
Torres, Camilo, 26
Towne, Anthony, 2
TV and politics, 3, 28, 78, 206
Twin Circle, 124
United Nations, 420
Urban coalition, 30
Vatican I, 51, 179
Vietnam, 3, 51, 124, 154, 158, 178, 229, 236, 274
Vonnegut, Kurt, 207
Vouchers, in education, 27
Wayne, John, 178
Welfare, 30, 491
Western Union, 26
Whitten, Rep. Jaime, 74
Williams, Sister Margaret, 2
Wills, Garry, 419
Winter Soldier Investigation, 178
Wolfe, Tom, 212
Women's Liberation, 7, 275, 374
Yale University,, 473
Yugoslavia, 252
Zoning, 283

The Screen

Philip T. Hartung
A Severed Head 239
The Beguiled 310
Claire's Knee 112
The Garden of Delights 15
La Collectionneuse 310
Pretty Maids All in a Row 239
The Go-Between 480
The Priest's Wife 239
Une Femme Douce 428
Waterloo 238
Bill Nichols
Bed and Domicile 64
This Man Must Die 64
Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.
A New Leaf 262
All's Welles 286
The Anderson Tapes 408
The Andromeda Strain 190
Blue Water, White Death 383
Carnal Knowledge 453
The Clowns 501
Death in Venice 501
Hellstrom Chronicle 382
The Importance of Being Oscar.. 139
Klute 407
La Collectionneuse 336
Little Murders 453
Love Story 40
McCabe and Mrs. Miller 408
Ramparts of Clay 86
The Summer of '42 261
Taking Off 262
10 Rillington Place 359
THX 1138 191
Wanda 87

The Stage

James Harvey
Follies 239
Michael Murray
All Over 166

For Library Subscribers

All 94 volumes of **Commonweal** dating back to November, 1924, are available on Microfilm. Libraries that subscribe to **Commonweal** are eligible to purchase current volumes—and past volumes—in this complete and compact form.

November, 1924 to March, 1960, 4-volume sets (2 years), $22.50 each

Complete backfile, $330

Current volumes, March, 1960 to date, $5.75 a year (2 vols.)

Address orders and inquiries to:

Xerox University Microfilms
300 N. Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Mich. 48106

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What do urban poverty, education, housing, health care, pollution, inflation, East-West trade, the Common Market, and the social performance of business have in common?

These critical national issues are all topics on the agenda of the Committee for Economic Development, a private, nonpartisan research and educational organization that examines economic and social policy problems and formulates recommendations for their solution. CED's objective approach combines the talents of the nation's business leadership with the scholarship of the country's finest academic minds. The result: one of the most important series of publications available on national policy. *These publications can now be yours at a 50% reduction in price through the CED Reader Forum.*

If you subscribe to the CED Reader Forum, you will receive every CED publication issued in a year (about 10 books and several miscellaneous publications). *An introductory one-year subscription, regularly $15, is now only $7.50.* And in order to bring you up to date on our recent activities, new subscribers will also receive several CED studies published within the past few months. These books are sent with our compliments and are not counted toward fulfillment of your subscription.

Subscribe now to the CED Reader Forum and save 50%

CED **COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT**
477 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

I would like to receive *every* CED publication issued during the next twelve months at an introductory price of $7.50. Please enter a one-year subscription in my name to the CED Reader Forum.

Name _____ _____

Address _____

City _____ *State* _____ *Zip* _____

☐ Payment of $7.50 enclosed. ☐ Please bill me. ☐ Please send free CED publications catalog.

CO

412

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED